DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 463 671 FL 027 235

AUTHOR	Parkinson, Brian, Ed.
TITLE	Edinburgh Working Papers in Applied Linguistics, 2001.
INSTITUTION	Edinburgh Univ. (Scotland). Dept. of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics.; Edinburgh Univ. (Scotland). Inst. for Applied Language Studies.
ISSN	ISSN-0959-2253
PUB DATE	2001-00-00
NOTE	103p.; Published annually.
AVAILABLE FROM	EWPAL Subscriptions, Institute for Applied Linguistics Studies, 21 Hill Place, Edinburgh EH8 9DP, Scotland, United Kingdom. Tel: 0131-650-6200; Fax: 0131-667-5927.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT	Edinburgh Working Papers in Applied Linguistics; n11 2001
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Learning; Comics (Publications); Computer Uses in Education; *Discourse Analysis; *English (Second Language); Feedback; French; Grammar; Higher Education; Japanese; Language Research; *Language Styles; Linguistics; Metaphors; Second Language Learning; Spanish; Teaching Methods; Translation; Word Processing; Writing Skills

ABSTRACT

This collection of papers falls into three categories: stylistics, discourse analysis, and language pedagogy. The papers are: "Feedback on Writing: Attitudes and Uptake" (Kenneth Anderson, Cathy Benson, and Tony Lynch); "An Alternative View of 'Like': Its Grammaticalisation in Conversational American English and Beyond" (Isabelle Buchstaller); "Examining the Intangible Process: Lotus Screencam as an Aid to Investigating Student Writing" (Eric Glendinning, Ron Howard); "Strategy and Style in English and French Translations of Japanese Comic Books" (Peter Howell); "The Value of an Additional Native Speaker in the English Language Classroom" (Tony Lynch, Kenneth Anderson); and "'The Way to a Man's Heart': Journey and War Metaphors. Metaphors--Metaphorical Conceptualizations of the Western Romance Model in English and Spanish" (Maria Angeles Navarrete Lopez). (Papers contain references.) (SM)

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EDINBURGH WORKING PAPERS IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS

Number 11

2001

(ISSN 0959-2253)

Published jointly by the Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics
and the Institute for Applied Language Studies
University of Edinburgh
Scotland

Editor: Brian Parkinson

Subscription information

Edinburgh Working Papers in Applied Linguistics (EWPAL) is normally published in the first term of the University of Edinburgh year (October-December). Details of subscription rates and journal exchange arrangements are at the end of this issue.

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Preface

EWPAL provides an annual update on some of the work being carried out in applied linguistics and language pedagogy by students and staff of the Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics (TAAL) and Institute for Applied Language Studies (IALS), both in the University of Edinburgh. Articles in this issue fall into three broad areas: stylistics (including translation theory), discourse analysis and language pedagogy (especially issues of feedback and correction, including peer correction).

As usual I should like to thank the readers/referees who have found time to comment on articles submitted: Cathy Benson, Elizabeth Black, Eric Glendinning, John Joseph, Ray Mackay, Joan Maclean, Miriam Meyerhoff and Hugh Trappes-Lomax.

Thanks also go to Ann Rattray for turning contributors' 'final' versions into these published papers, and to Alan White and his colleagues at the University Printing Office, who have taken over the final stage of production.

Brian Parkinson

November 2001

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Contributors' and editor's addresses appear at the end of this volume.

FEEDBACK ON WRITING: ATTITUDES AND UPTAKE

Kenneth Anderson, Cathy Benson and Tony Lynch (IALS)

Abstract

This is a study of students' attitudes to and use of feedback on their written work in an EAP course. It includes a case study of two students who use very different strategies with regard to feedback in a tutorial. The 'success' rate of tutorial discussions is also investigated. The authors stress the importance of one-to-one dialogue in the feedback cycle, and the need for dialogue among students and tutor on how feedback can be provided and exploited.

1. Introduction

1.1 General background

The extent to which feedback on writing contributes to the development of language skills has been the subject of competing claims: Truscott (1996) has argued that research evidence fails to support any significant benefits for correction of language form, while Doughty and Williams (1998) cite evidence for the effectiveness of corrective feedback, provided it is clearly focused and the learners already have a firm knowledge of the form in question. In classroom terms, the provision of feedback on writing is widely seen by both students and tutors as a central role of the EAP tutor, and the amount of time devoted to the activity justifies further research into its effectiveness. This exploratory study, undertaken at IALS, University of Edinburgh, focuses on students' attitudes to feedback on writing, and on when, how and to what extent they act on the feedback provided. We will begin with a brief discussion of some background issues.

Given the marked tendency, reported by Hyland (2001), for feedback to be concerned with linguistic form, it is helpful to look at feedback in the light of current interest in 'Focus on Form' (Doughty and Williams, 1998). According to cognitive psychology, learning requires conscious mental effort; 'subliminal' learning bypassing consciousness is not possible (Schmidt, 1990; Robinson, 1995). This implies that learning new form-meaning relationships in language is only possible where learners have opportunities to *notice* them; focus on form (*'FonF'*), it is argued, is essential for second language acquisition to proceed. If learners are not given regular opportunities for attention to be freed from the demands of communicating meaning and directed towards linguistic form, they learn to achieve communicative goals through the fluent deployment of lexicalised interlanguage chunks, but are prevented from the analysis and restructuring of their interlanguage which constitutes L2 development (Skehan, 1998); instead, learners become 'fossilized'.

'Focus on form' does not imply a return to syllabuses based on some predetermined sequence of language segments (structural, functional, lexical, etc.), or 'focus on *forms*' (Long and Crookes, 1993), since it is clear that second language acquisition is not a linear, cumulative process (Rutherford, 1988). While there is mounting evidence for the existence of fixed developmental sequences in the acquisition of L2 grammar, understanding of these is too fragmentary to be translatable into pedagogic sequences, and in any case, it cannot be predicted when a particular form will become learnable for a particular learner (Long and Robinson, 1998). What is advocated is the management of primarily meaning-focused communicative pedagogy to include appropriately timed opportunities for learners' attentional resources to be allocated to language form. Long and Robinson describe the implementation of focus on form as:

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> an occasional shift of attention to linguistic code features - by the teacher and/or one or more students - triggered by perceived problems with comprehension or production
>
> (Long and Robinson 1998: 23)

Feedback on the written products of meaning-focused classroom tasks could thus be considered a suitable vehicle for delivery of *FonF*.

A second issue is the value of one-to-one dialogue between teacher and student about the individual written feedback given by the teacher. We refer to this event as the "feedback tutorial"; elsewhere in the literature it is often called "conferencing". The question of "metatalk", or talking about language, is relevant here. Swain and Lapkin (2001) describe a study in which pairs of learners collaborated on writing a story; the text was then given to a native speaker to read and reformulate. The researchers look at the learners' discussion, both while writing, and later, while comparing their own stories with the reformulation. One subject said that she remembered the points that had been discussed better than those which had not been discussed. This was borne out by performance in the second (individual) drafts: there were more improvements to the text in areas which had been discussed than in those which had not been.

As Swain and Lapkin point out, this fits in well with the Vygotskyan idea that collective behaviour can lead to individual development. Van Lier explains the point simply:

> At any given point ... there is a range of knowledge and skills which [a] person can only access with someone's assistance.... This material, which one might say is within reach, constitutes the ZPD [Zone of Proximal Development]. Anything outside the circle of proximal development is simply beyond reach and not (yet) available for learning.'
>
> (Van Lier, 1996: 190-191)

It is argued that

> Social interaction, by virtue of its orientation towards mutual engagement and intersubjectivity, is likely to home in on the ZPD and stay within it.
>
> (ibid: 191)

Our own study involves teacher-student (rather than student-student) interaction, but the discussion above is equally relevant. One-to-one discourse may constitute a more favourable context for 'cognitive apprenticeship' than whole-class instruction, partly because students are under less social pressure, and partly because the teacher can adjust feedback to the student's ZPD (Cummings and So, 1996). It would appear, then, that the feedback tutorial is an appropriate framework in which to help the learner through developmental stages (Aljaafreh and Lantolf, 1994). Through dialogue, the teacher has to negotiate the minimum level of guidance the student is ready to make use of.

One further relevant issue here is that of "uptake", i.e. what the learner actually learns, which may be different from what the teacher intended to teach. Slimani (1989) asked learners to record on "uptake charts" the items they felt they had learnt, then analysed lesson transcripts to see where these items had occurred. It seems the tendency was for them to perceive themselves as having learned items occurring in parts of the lesson that dealt with topics selected by the learners rather than by the teachers. In view of this, we incorporated the question of topicalisation - which areas were chosen by the learners for discussion - into our analysis of the feedback tutorials.

Finally, a crucial factor in any discussion of feedback must be the feelings and attitudes of the individual learners. Leki (1991) conducted a survey of learner preferences about feedback, asking questions about the importance of correction in general, and the relative importance of different areas, and how they preferred to be corrected. Out of 100 students, 70 wanted all errors indicated, and only one was satisfied with only having those errors pointed out which impeded communication. Higher numbers rated grammar as very important compared with other areas, yet when it came to questions about what these learners actually did, higher numbers looked more carefully at comments on content and organisation than at comments on linguistic features. The most popular means of correction was underlining and giving a clue. (According to Leki, learners may have perceived this method as a kind of "puzzle".) As for response to feedback, 82% said that they rewrote either the whole text or the sentences containing the errors. Leki concludes that we must either accept learner preferences, or discuss openly with them the research about the effectiveness of correction; she maintains it is "high-handed and disrespectful of our students to simply insist that they trust our preferences".

1.2. Background to this study: the 'Academic English' Course

Our study was carried out at IALS in the 12-week April-June term, 2000. The students we selected as subjects were attending 'Academic English', a 5 hours-per-week option within a full-time EFL programme.

The term's syllabus was based on individual and group projects. Project work, in which the students identify and research a topic, draft, revise and receive tutor feedback on written texts and/or other forms of presentation, has many benefits within a pre-sessional EAP course; in particular:

- simulating the type of 'target tasks' that many EAP students will undertake on their degree programmes;
- providing natural opportunities within a communicative task cycle for *Focus on Form*.

The work in that term comprised three project cycles, each of which included an individual tutorial to discuss tutor feedback given on students' first drafts, following which a revised, final draft was produced (for timetable, see Appendix 1). The first two projects were done collaboratively in groups of two or three, each student being asked to contribute one part (for example, a main section) of the text. The final project was done individually.

There were a total of 12 students in the AE class, most of whom attended for the whole term. The majority were from East Asia, but the group included individual students from the Middle East, North Africa, South America and Southern Europe. Most, though not all, were graduates intending to start postgraduate studies in the UK later in the year.

2. Research Design

2.1 Research questions

1. What are AE students' attitudes to different types of feedback?
2. Do they change over time?
3. Which points are topicalised in written feedback, and in one-to-one tutorials?
4. Who topicalises them – student or tutor?
5. Does their writing show change (between drafts, but also from project to project) as a result of feedback?
6. If so, in which areas?

7. Is there any relation between interaction patterns in one-to-one tutorials and change in writing?

2.2 Methods

We used four different kinds of data for our study.

Questionnaire

A questionnaire adapted from Leki (1991) was administered to investigate students' attitudes to feedback, at the beginning and end of their course (see Appendix 2): their feelings about the importance of errors in general, and about the relative importance of different kinds of errors; how often they looked carefully at comments in different areas, including content and organisation as well as language; how they wanted the teacher to deal with errors; and how they acted on feedback.

The essays

We kept copies of both drafts of the learners' essays, in order to have a record of the feedback given, and the changes made between drafts.

Tutorials

We also recorded the one-to-one teacher-student tutorials, to ascertain what was discussed and who initiated discussion.

Assessment of texts

The first and final drafts of each text were graded (blind) by three different native speakers, yielding six marks in all for each student.

3. Results

So far we have only analysed the results for two students, 'Wendy' and 'Ahmed', chosen because they were from very different backgrounds, linguistically and culturally, and in terms of gender, educational level and experience, and level of English.

Ahmed, a Saudi mature postgraduate in his late twenties, had worked in management and was planning to start a Master's course at a Scottish university in October 2001. He had been at IALS since the previous October, and had made good progress; by the start of the term his proficiency level, measured on the IALS placement test, had reached the equivalent of approximately IELTS band 6.0. He was regarded by tutors as a diligent and successful language student.

Wendy, a Hong Kong Chinese newcomer to IALS, had lived in the UK for 5 years, having recently completed a Mathematics degree at a Scottish university. In view of this, her English was surprisingly poor; her placement score was equivalent to below 4.5 on IELTS. In social interaction with her peers, she deployed very successful communication strategies, but the language she produced in speech and writing was highly inaccurate; she showed all the signs of what Johnson (1996) described as 'early-fossilized pidgins'.

3.1 Attitudes of AE students

In the first instance, we analysed the questionnaires of all ten students starting the AE course in April 2000. The results are not dissimilar to Leki's (1991):

- five thought it very important to minimise errors.
- accurate grammar and vocabulary were rated most highly; only three thought punctuation very important.

- however, a greater number said they "always looked carefully" at marks referring to content and organisation than grammar; Leki also found this mismatch between opinion and reported practice.
- five said they wanted all errors indicated; the rest said either most major errors or just those interfering with communication.
- locating the error and giving a clue was (as in Leki's study) more popular than supplying the correct form; but paradoxically, in Part Four, where they are given sample actual feedback-types to judge, the highest number preferred the correct form to be supplied.

As to whether their attitudes changed over the duration of the course, the findings regarding the two learners we focused on are summarised below:

Table 1: Changes in the students' attitudes to feedback over the course

Wendy	Ahmed
- **more** important than previously to have as few errors as possible (both for self and teacher)	- **more** important than previously to have as few errors as possible (but less so for teacher)
– punctuation increased in importance, to equal other categories	– grammatical errors still most important
– continued to look carefully at all indications of error	– now looked more carefully than before at indications of errors in grammar and spelling
– indications of linguistic error more important than previously	– continued to always look at comments on organisation and ideas
– comments on organisation slightly less important	– his preferred technique was still location of error and clue (preference stronger than previously)
– now more useful to consult teacher than grammar book	
– supplying correct form still preferred technique	

3.2 Which points are topicalized in written feedback, and in one-to-one tutorials?

Written feedback

We identified 50 types of 'points' selected by the tutor for written feedback in the texts written by Ahmed and Wendy. These were grouped into four broad categories:

1) 'Discourse' encompassed more global issues of text structure, and concerns such as plagiarism; this corresponds quite closely to Hyland's (2001)'Academic' category.

2) 'Presentation' included errors of spelling, punctuation and word-processing, and issues of format in references, subheadings, etc.

3) and 4) 'Grammar' and 'Lexis' are perhaps self-explanatory, though the distinction is not straightforward; for example, we decided to include under 'Lexis' (rather than 'Grammar') errors in 'word-grammar' or 'grammatical collocation', where the syntactic form of a sentence is partly determined by the selection of a particular lexical item, and 'closed class' or 'system' words, such as modals and prepositions.

Initiation of tutorial episodes

In analysing the tutorial recordings, we divided the discussion into topical 'episodes', the start of each episode being determined by a change of topic. We coded the episodes according to: the four topical categories above; whether the episode focused on a point in the tutor's written feedback (W) or not (NW); and whether it was initiated by the student or the tutor. The tutor's intention was to let the student 'lead' the conversation; he would respond to their questions rather than direct the discussion, on the assumption that focussing on points selected by students would be more likely to lead to uptake (cf. Slimani, 1989). He did, however, bring up issues not mentioned by the student when he felt a valuable opportunity (to focus on an aspect of form, for example) would otherwise be missed.

There were quite striking differences between the tutorials with Ahmed and those with Wendy.

Ahmed was unusual in the group in the way he used the tutorials. He brought along a fully word-processed intermediate draft which he wanted the tutor to check, having already made revisions in the light of the written feedback.

Table 2: 'Ahmed': Tutorial episodes initiated by student

W = discussion refers to written feedback point

NW = discussion does not refer to written feedback point

Topic	Project 1			Project 2			Project 3			All projects		
	W	NW	Total	W	NW	Total	W	NW	Total	W	NW	Total
DIS	1	0	1	0	1	1	7	0	7	8	1	9
GRA	9	0	9	16	0	16	8	0	8	33	0	33
LEX	3	0	3	5	0	5	4	0	4	12	0	12
PRE	1	0	1	3	1	4	4	1	5	8	2	10
All	14	0	14	24	2	26	23	1	24	61	3	64

Table 3: 'Ahmed': Tutorial episodes initiated by tutor

Topic	Project 1			Project 2			Project 3			All projects		
	W	NW	Total	W	NW	Total	W	NW	Total	W	NW	Total
DIS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GRA	2	0	2	0	1	1	2	0	2	4	1	5
LEX	1	2	3	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	2	4
PRE	0	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	2	3	1	4
All	3	3	6	1	1	2	5	0	5	9	4	13

As Tables 2-3 show, his tutorials were characterised by a large number of topical episodes (between 20 and 30 in each), over 80% of which were initiated by Ahmed himself. As the discussion was based on his revisions, almost all of the episodes were in the 'W' category. Ahmed's interest was very clearly centred on issues of linguistic form, particularly the GRA and LEX topical categories. There are more episodes classed as DIS in the third (individual) project, because his first draft had comprised the main body only, (without the Title Page, Introduction, Conclusion, References and other features stipulated in the task instructions), and he had supplied the missing elements in the re-draft he presented at the tutorial.

Ahmed was what teachers would regard as a 'good' student: he approached the task of revising methodically and carefully, and he used the time in a focused, efficient way to elicit feedback on his formal corrections. By the same token, however, his approach arguably reflected a heavily teacher-dependent mode of learning.

Any of several factors – age, gender (the tutor was male), history of English learning, or a combination – may have influenced the very different pattern for Wendy (see Tables 4-5).

Table 4: 'Wendy': Tutorial episodes initiated by student

Topic	Project 1			Project 2			Project 3			All projects		
	W	NW	Total	W	NW	Total	W	NW	Total	W	NW	Total
DIS	1	2	3	2	1	3	0	0	0	3	3	6
GRA	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	3	0	3
LEX	1	0	1	0	0	0	6	0	6	7	0	7
PRE	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	0	1	1	2	3
All	2	2	4	2	3	5	10	0	10	14	5	19

Table 5: 'Wendy': Tutorial episodes initiated by tutor

Topic	Project 1			Project 2			Project 3			All projects		
	W	NW	Total	W	NW	Total	W	NW	Total	W	NW	Total
DIS	1	3	4	0	1	1	1	0	1	2	4	6
GRA	2	0	2	1	0	1	3	1	4	6	1	7
LEX	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	4	3	2	5
PRE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
All	4	3	7	1	1	2	6	3	9	11	7	18

Firstly, there is a marked contrast between the figures for Wendy's first two tutorials and for the third; could this reflect a change in attitude?

Her first two tutorials were very short (around 5 minutes; Ahmed's lasted around 30 minutes), and comprised few episodes (ten and seven). The numbers of student-initiated and tutor-initiated episodes were more evenly balanced, suggesting that Wendy was less sure how to exploit the event, or perhaps saw less value in it, or that she lacked confidence in initiating discussion. Interestingly, almost half the questions Wendy did ask were about points unrelated to the tutor's feedback (NW). Perhaps she did not see the written feedback as very relevant to her concerns; the points it focused on may have been in areas she was not 'ready' to address. In contrast to Ahmed's, practically all Wendy's questions in the first two sessions were in the DIS category.

In the third tutorial, however, Wendy's behaviour was quite different. She had more questions, this time all relating to the tutor's feedback, and all in the GRA and LEX areas. If she was learning to be more like Ahmed, was this a good thing? Her shift in interest away from 'higher order' concerns towards lexicogrammar runs counter to the direction that many EAP tutors claim to see as desirable. However, our analysis of the topics focused on by the tutor in feedback and in tutor-initiated tutorial episodes lends support to Hyland's finding (2001) of a mismatch between what EAP writing tutors may say are their priorities (higher-order 'academic' issues) and what they actually give most attention to in practice (grammar and vocabulary). It may be that Wendy is learning to conform to what she perceives to be the values of the classroom.

The apparent change in Wendy's attitudes might also be interpreted as signalling an increased dependence on the tutor, which would be consistent with her questionnaire responses (see Table 1), and seems to represent a movement away from autonomy - in the opposite direction from that which Aljaafreh and Lantolf argue represents cognitive development. Given Wendy's hitherto rather unsuccessful record as a language learner, on the other hand, this apparently newly acquired appreciation of the tutor's potential as a source of information on linguistic form may be encouraging: she may only now be entering a stage at which she is ready to 'notice the gap' (Swain, 1998) between her interlanguage and the TL, when *Focus on Form* will pay off.

An alternative, or additional, explanation for the apparent change in Wendy's approach might be an enhanced sense of personal commitment to the product, as it was an individual rather than a group project.

3.3 Students' Writing: Change over time

All three markers noted improvement, both between the first and final draft of each project (suggesting that learners were taking up feedback effectively vis-à-vis the piece of work in question) and between the first and third projects (suggesting that learners were making progress in their writing during the course of the term).

To examine the learners' responses to feedback in more detail, we coded every instance of feedback in the first draft, and every instance of uptake in the second. These are the possible permutations:

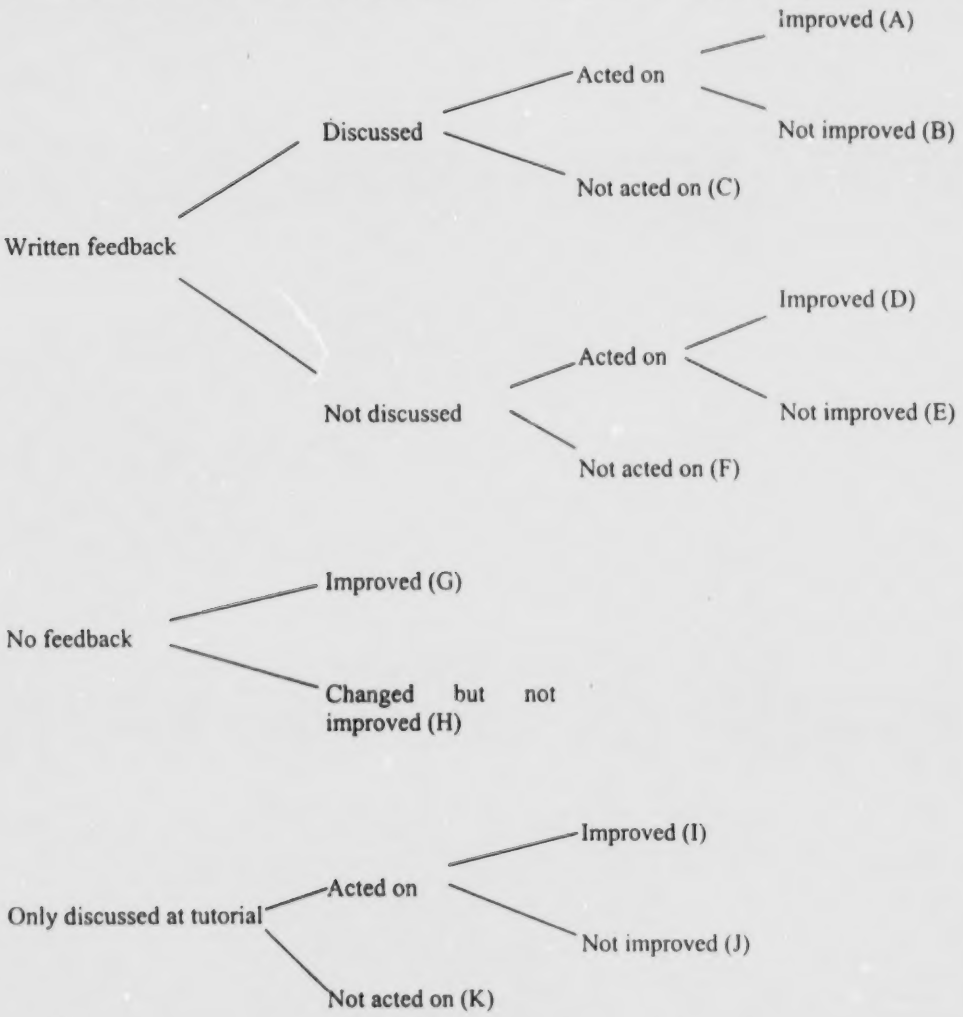

Table 6: Responses to feedback in each of Wendy's and Ahmed's projects

	Number of instances per project % of all responses (% of responses to written feedback)					
Categories of feedback and response	W1	W2	W3	A1	A2	A3
A: written feedback + discussed + improved	**3 7% (9%)**	**3 25% (43%)**	**15 34% (42%)**	**17 81% (89%)**	**21 60% (66%)**	**28 47% (52%)**
B: written feedback + discussed + changed but not improved	2 7% (9%)	1 8% (14%)	1 2% (3%)	0 0% (0%)	2 6% (6%)	1 2% (2%)
C: written feedback + discussed + not changed	1 4% (4%)	0 0% (0%)	0 0% (0%)	0 0% (0%)	0 0% (0%)	0 0% (0%)
D: written feedback + not discussed + improved	**10 36% (43%)**	**2 17% (29%)**	**16 36% (44%)**	**1 5% (5%)**	**7 20% (22%)**	**19 32% (35%)**
E: written feedback + not discussed + changed but not improved	1 4% (4%)	1 8% (14%)	3 7% (8%)	0 0% (0%)	1 3% (3%)	0 0% (0%)
F: written feedback + not discussed + not changed	6 21% (26%)	0 0% (0%)	1 2% (3%)	1 5% (5%)	1 3% (3%)	6 10% (11%)
G: no written feedback + not discussed + improved	**3 11%**	**0 0%**	**2 5%**	**0 0%**	**0 0%**	**4 7%**
H: no written feedback + not discussed + changed + not improved	0 0%	2 17%	3 7%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
I: no written feedback + discussed + improved	**1 7%**	**3 25%**	**2 5%**	**2 10%**	**2 6%**	**1 2%**
J: no written feedback + discussed + changed + not improved	1 4%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 3%	0 0%
K: no written feedback + discussed + not changed	0 0%	0 0%	1 2%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
(bold = improvement in second draft)						

Looking at Response Type A, it is clear that Ahmed produced considerably more responses of this type than Wendy (see Table 6). However, Wendy's Type A responses did increase in number over the three projects, whereas Ahmed's actually decreased in percentage terms as his ability to act on written feedback alone (Response Type D) increased.

Points raised in the tutorial only, and not mentioned in written feedback (Categories I, J and K), almost always led to improvement.

Table 7: 'Success' rates of tutorial discussions, by initiator

'Ahmed'

	Project 1			Project 2			Project 3		
	+	-	'Success' rate	+	-	'Success' rate	+	-	'Success' rate
'Ahmed'	14	0	100%	22	2	92%	29	2	96%
Tutor	5	0	100%	1	1	50%	5	0	100%

'Wendy'

	Project 1			Project 2			Project 3		
	+	-	'Success' rate	+	-	'Success' rate	+	-	'Success' rate
'Wendy'	2	2	50%	3	1	75%	10	0	100%
Tutor	2	2	50%	2	1	67%	8	1	89%

+ point improved in final draft, following discussion in tutorial

- point not improved in final draft, following discussion in tutorial

The question of who initiated the discussion (tutor or student?) has already been explored in Section 3.2; but we also have to ask whether there is a connection between who initiates the discussion and subsequent changes to the text. The data is very limited; nevertheless, it is suggestive. As Table 7 shows, throughout the course, Ahmed was successful at using the tutorial process to produce improvements in his texts, irrespective of who instigated the discussion. Wendy seemed less so at the outset, yet as she began to take a more active role in initiating discussion, she also started to make

more improvements on the basis of it. Maybe Ahmed, as an "old hand" at IALS, was more able to derive benefit from our methods, while Wendy may have required more time to become acculturated; or perhaps her listening ability improved, enabling her to understand - and act on - her tutor's comments more easily. Or it could be that there was a two-way relationship between increased confidence (allowing her to take the initiative in discussion) and enhanced proficiency (leading to more effective take-up of oral feedback).

A final question to answer here, which was not one of the original research questions, is: how effective is discussion of written feedback versus no discussion? In other words, how valuable is the tutorial? As Table 8 reveals, written feedback alone can be fairly effective, but it appears that a higher proportion of errors are corrected where this is backed up by discussion.

Table 8: 'Success' rates of discussion vs no discussion of written feedback

'Ahmed'

	Project 1	Project 2	Project 3
'Success rate' of discussion of written feedback points: written feedback points improved after discussion (A) / all written feedback points discussed (A+B+C) (%)	17 / 17 (100%)	21 / 23 (91%)	28 / 29 (97%)
'Success rate' of written feedback <u>without</u> discussion: written feedback points improved without discussion (D) / all written feedback points not discussed (D+E+F) (%)	1 / 2 (50%)	7 / 9 (78%)	19 / 25 (76%)

'Wendy'

	Project 1	Project 2	Project 3
'Success rate' of discussion of written feedback points: written feedback points improved after discussion (A) / all written feedback points discussed (A+B+C) (%)	3 / 6 (50%)	3 / 4 (75%)	15 / 16 (94%)
'Success rate' of written feedback <u>without</u> discussion: written feedback points improved without discussion (D) / all written feedback points not discussed (D+E+F) (%)	10 / 17 (59%)	2 / 3 (67%)	16 / 20 (80%)

4. Conclusion

This preliminary study has underlined for us the sheer amount of work that our AE students put into the revision process; a major part of this work necessarily entails giving attention to linguistic form, confirming that the feedback-revision cycle can be a highly productive context for *Focus on Form*. Secondly, the 'success rate' of the discussions, especially on student-initiated points, has reinforced our appreciation of the importance of one-to-one dialogue in the feedback cycle. This echoes Swain and Lapkin's (2001) findings. It has also highlighted the diversity of approach that individual students may take to making use of the tutorial, and the need for dialogue among students and tutor on how feedback can be provided and exploited (cf. Leki, 1991). We believe that an extension of this research on a wider scale would be of value, and that the findings would be illuminated by finding out more about the students' previous experience in learning and using English, and about their attitudes to writing in their L1.

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Appendix 1: AE PROJECTS SCHEDULE, TERM 3, 2000

	Monday	Tuesday	Thursday
WEEK 1 PROJECT 1 (group; common theme)	10/4 Preliminary session **PROJECT 1** (Video?)	11/4 Search for sources *Computer Lab; Internet open*	13/4 Drafting CL *Computer Lab; Internet open*
Week 2 Project 1 (contd.)	17/4 Drafting *Lab*	18/4 ***Questionnaire*** and discussion on feedback preferences	20/4 Peer feedback; **First draft deadline** *Lab*
Week 3 Project 1 (contd.)	24/4 **Groups prepare oral presentations /** ***T feedback, tutorials*** (gps 1&2) *Lab*	25/4 **Groups prepare oral presentations /** ***T feedback, tutorials*** (gps 3&4) *Lab*	27/4 Group Oral Presentation
Week 4 Project 2 (group; different themes)	1/5 Preliminary session **PROJECT 2** *Computer Lab; Internet open*	2/5 Search for sources *Computer Lab; Internet open*	4/5 Drafting
Week 5 Project 2 (contd.)	8/5 Drafting	9/5 Peer feedback; **First draft deadline**	11/5 Return first draft **T feedback** *tutorials* revision
Week 6 Project 2 (contd.)	15/5 **T feedback** *tutorials* / Prepare oral presentation (Groups)	16/5 ***2nd draft deadline*** Prepare oral presentation	18/5 Group Oral Presentation
Week 7 Project 3 (Individual)	*HALF TERM*	*HALF TERM*	25/5 **START PROJECT 3** Outline; list of sources *Computer Lab; Internet open*
Week 8 Project 3 (contd.)	29/5 Drafting *Computer Lab; Internet open*	30/5 Peer feedback; **First draft deadline**	1/6 Return first draft ***T feedback, tutorials*** Revision
Week 9 Project 3/ Project 4 (Individual)	5/6 Return first draft **T feedback,** *tutorials* / prepare poster pres	6/6 **Submit final draft** Poster presentation	8/6 **START PROJECT 4** Outline; list of sources *Computer Lab; Internet open*
Week 10 Project 4 (contd.)	12/6 Drafting *Computer Lab; Internet open*	13/6 Peer feedback; **First draft deadline** *Lab*	15/6 Return first draft **T feedback,** tutorials revision *Lab*
WEEK 11 Project 4 (contd.)	19/6 Prepare poster presentation	20/6 Submit final draft Poster presentation	22/6 **Return final draft** ***Questionnaire 2***

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Appendix 2: SURVEY OF AE STUDENTS' PREFERENCES FOR ERROR CORRECTION

The purpose of this survey is to attempt to find out what types of markings on written work are most useful to students in helping them improve the correctness of their written English. Please be as honest as possible. Please respond to all questions. Thank you for participating.

Name:

First Language:

PART 1

Instructions:

Respond to the questions below by circling the number that comes closest to representing your opinion. If you feel the item is very important, circle #1, like this: -

Example:

very important						**not important at all**
1 (◯)	2	3	4	5	6	7

If you feel the item is ***not*** important at all, circle #7, like this:-

very important						**not important at all**
1	2	3	4	5	6	(7)

If the importance of the item is somewhere in between, indicate that by circling the number between #1 and #7 which best represents your opinion.

1. How important is it to you to have as few errors as possible in your written work in English?

very important						**not important at all**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. How important do you think it is to your English teachers for you to have as few errors as possible in your written work?

very important						**not important at all**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. How important is it to ***you*** for your English teacher to point out your errors in grammatical forms (verb tenses, subject/verb agreements, article use, etc.) in your written work?

very important						**not important at all**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. How important is it to ***you*** for your English teacher to point out your errors in spelling in your written work?

very important						**not important at all**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. How important is it to ***you*** for your English teacher to point out your errors in vocabulary choice in your written work?

very important						**not important at all**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. How important is it to ***you*** for your English teacher to point out your errors in punctuation in your written work?

very important						**not important at all**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

PART II

Instructions:

Respond to the questions below by circling the number that comes closest to being accurate. Circulate #1 if you do something all the time. Circle #2 if you do it most of the time. Circle #3 if you do it some of the time. Circle #4 if you do it not very often. Circle #5 if you never do it. 'Marks' can mean either words or symbols used by the teacher on your essay. Do not answer according to what you think you ***should*** do, but according to what you actually do.

7. When your teacher returns an essay to you, do you look carefully at the marks indicating errors in grammar?

always	**usually**	**sometimes**	**not very often**	**never**
1	2	3	4	5

8. When your teacher returns an essay to you, do you look carefully at the marks indicating errors in spelling?

always	**usually**	**sometimes**	**not very often**	**never**
1	2	3	4	5

9. When your teacher returns an essay to you, do you look carefully at the marks indicating errors in vocabulary choice:

always	usually	sometimes	not very often	never
1	2	3	4	5

10. When your teacher returns an essay to you, do you look carefully at the marks indicating errors in punctuation?

always	usually	sometimes	not very often	never
1	2	3	4	5

11. When your teacher returns a marked essay to you, do you look carefully at the comments on the organisation of your essay?

always	usually	sometimes	not very often	never
1	2	3	4	5

12. When your teacher returns an essay to you, do you look carefully at the comments on the ideas you expressed?

always	usually	sometimes	not very often	never
1	2	3	4	5

PART III

Instructions:

Answer the following questions by putting an '**X**' next to the answer which for you is the ***best*** or most accurate response.

Example:-

Who takes AE at IALS?

_____ Only undergraduates.

_____ Only post-graduate students.

X_____ Both undergraduates and post-graduates.

13. If there were ***many*** errors in a composition, what would you want your English teachers to do?

1. _____ Mark all errors, major and minor.
2. _____ Mark all errors the teacher considers major, but not the minor ones.
3. _____ Mark most of the major errors.
4. _____ Mark only a few of the major errors.
5. _____ Mark all repeated errors that might interfere with communicating your ideas.
6. _____ Mark only errors that might interfere with communicating your ideas.
7. _____ Mark no errors and respond only to the ideas you express.
8. _____ Other (please specify)

14. How do you want your teacher to indicate an error in your written work?

1. _____ The teacher crosses out what is incorrect and writes in the correct word or structure.
2. _____ The teacher shows where the error is and gives a clue about how to correct it.
3. _____ The teacher only shows where the error is.
4. _____ The teacher ignores the errors in English and only pays attention to the ideas expressed
5. _____ Other (please specify)

15. How carefully do you look at the marks your teacher makes on your written work?

_____ Read every one carefully.

2. _____ Look at some marks more carefully than at others.
3. _____ Mainly pay attention to teacher's comments on the ideas you expressed.

16. If you only look carefully at ***some*** of the marks your English teacher makes on your written work, which ones do you consider most important to look at carefully?

1. _____ Marks indicating errors in grammar.
2. _____ Marks indicating errors in vocabulary choice.
3. _____ Marks indicating errors in punctuation.
4. _____ Marks indicating errors in spelling.

17. Of the marks that your English teacher makes on your compositions which ones do you remember best?

1. _____ Comments on your ideas.
2. _____ Comments on the organisation of the paper.
3. _____ Marks indicating errors in English.

18. If you make an error in English, what helps you the most to understand what you did wrong?

1. _____ Having another foreign student explain the problem.
2. _____ Having your teacher explain the problem.
3. _____ Looking in a grammar book.
4. _____ Having a native speaker (not your teacher) explain the problem

19. If you make an error in English, what helps you the least to understand what you did wrong?

1. _____ Having another foreign student explain the problem.
2. _____ Having your teacher explain the problem.
3. _____ Looking in a grammar book.
4. _____ Having a native speaker (not your teacher) explain the problem.

20. If you make an error you don't know how to correct, where do you usually go for help?

1. _____ To your teacher.
2. _____ To another foreign student friend.
3. _____ To a native speaker friend.
4. _____ To a grammar book.

21. If you turn to one of the sources in #20 for help in correcting your errors, whose advice do you usually remember best?

1. _____ The teacher's advice.
2. _____ The foreign student friend's advice.
3. _____ The native speaker friend's advice.
4. _____ The book's advice.

22. What helps you most to learn from the errors marked on your essay and helps you avoid making that error again?

1. _____ Rewriting the whole essay.
2. _____ Rewriting on another piece of paper just the sentence in which an error appeared.
3. _____ Rewriting near the error only part of the sentence that was wrong.
4. _____ Just reading through the essay carefully without rewriting anything.
5. _____ Nothing because you know you'll probably just forget and make the same errors again no matter what you do.

PART IV

Instructions:

The following sentences all have the same error in English grammar and each sentence has a different possible response to the error which might have been written by a teacher. Look over the different possible responses and rate each response. If you think the mark is a very good way to indicate an error on an essay, circle #1. If you think the mark is a very bad way to indicate an error on an essay, circle #5. If you think the mark is somewhere in between a very good way to mark an essay and a very bad way to mark an essay, circle the number between #1 and #5 that best represents your opinion.

		Very good				Very bad
a.	see section 11a in grammar book Since I arrived in Edinburgh, I am very lonely	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Since I arrived in Edinburgh, I am very lonely.	1	2	3	4	5
c.	have been Since I arrived in Edinburgh, I ~~am~~ very lonely.	1	2	3	4	5
d.	I'm very sorry to hear that. Why don't you come and talk to me about it? Since I arrived in Edinburgh, I am very lonely.	1	2	3	4	5
e.	tense Since I arrived in Edinburgh, I am very lonely.	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Since I arrived in Edinburgh, I am very lonely.	1	2	3	4	5

Adapted from Leki (1991)

Final Question:

Have you changed your attitude to feedback during the term? YES / NO / DON'T KNOW

If you answered 'yes', please say in what way:

AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW OF *LIKE*: ITS GRAMMATICALISATION IN CONVERSATIONAL AMERICAN ENGLISH AND BEYOND

Isabelle Buchstaller (TAAL)

Abstract

Like has recently acquired some newly grammaticalized uses, notably those of a discourse marker and a quotative complementizer. Although these uses have been highly stigmatized by normativist grammarians, they nevertheless occur with high frequency in naturally occurring discourse and have attracted the attention of several studies. This article tests the claims made in the literature about the use of like *by looking at a small sample of talk-in-interaction. The author undertakes a qualitative evaluation of the pragmatic, semantic and syntactic aspects in the use of* like *in its new functions and gives motivations for the grammaticalization it has undergone. Using the framework of Lakoff (1987), the synchronic uses of* like *are presented in a radial structure that explains the various semantic-pragmatic functions it can take with reference to a core meaning.*

1. Introduction[1]

Like enjoys a range of usages. In spontaneous everyday discourse all uses of *like* co-occur, which results in clusters of *like* in different functions but also stretches of speech where there are hardly any occurrences of *like* to be found[2]. According to the literature, *like* in its non-standard uses is most frequently found in the colloquial, everyday discourse of adolescents and young adults[3], a fact that underlines its status as an item with newly grammaticalized functions. Also the repetitive occurrence and the reciprocal attraction of *like* in its multiple functions might be interpreted as a sign of grammaticalization underway (Romaine and Lange 1991).

The third edition of *Webster's New World Dictionary* (1994:783) mentions the following uses of *like* (not counting its use as an adjective, an adverb, a noun, a verb, and the obsolete and rare examples):

> A Preposition 'similar to, somewhat resembling, characteristic of, as for example'
> (1) She sings like a bird
>
> B Conjunction (coll.) 'in the way that, as, as if'
> (2) It was just like you said
>
> 'LIKE IS ALSO USED WITHOUT MEANING OR SYNTACTIC FUNCTION, AS IN CASUAL TALK, BEFORE OR AFTER A WORD, PHRASE, OR CLAUSE'

The *American Heritage College Dictionary* (1993:786) adds the following use:

- not standard: used to provide emphasis or a pause.

The Random House *Webster* (1999:768)[4] has just incorporated the new uses of *like* that I will focus on in this paper:

- informal (used esp. after forms of 'to be' to introduce reported speech or thought)

EDINBURGH WORKING PAPERS IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS, number 11 (2001) ISSN 0959-2253

(3) She's like "I don't believe it," and I'm like " No, it's true"

- informal (used preceding a WH-word, an answer to a question, or other information in a sentence on which a speaker wishes to focus attention).

(4) Like, why didn't you write to me ? The music was like really great.

Even though the selection of this item and its absolute frequency depends heavily on the idiolect of the speaker, its high frequency in oral discourse can be accounted for by its multifunctionality and, as I will show in this paper, by the functions here labelled 'not standard' or 'informal'.

I present a categorization of those instances of *like* that do not fall into the traditional categories, that is, tokens that show a great deal of syntactic freedom and possess a great mobility inside the utterance in the sense that they can precede or follow a clause or any phrase. Following Schiffrin (1987), such items can be analyzed as discourse markers[5] because they fall into the category of 'sequentially dependent elements, which bracket units of talk and which are *independent of sentential structure*' [emphasis mine]. Cf. also Sankoff et al. (1997:195): [discourse markers] 'do not enter into constructions syntactically with other elements of the sentence'.

At the same time I will examine the function of *like* as a quotative complementizer. I will then discuss these instances of *like* in the light of the claims made about them in the literature.

Romaine and Lange (1991) proposed a grammaticalization channel for *like* based on Traugott's (1982) model. They traced the diachronic development of *like* from a preposition to a conjunction to a discourse marker and to a quotative complement.

Figure 1: The semantic core model of *like*

preposition →	**conjunction** →	**discourse marker**[6]
prep/ _NP	conj/ _IP	DM/ _XP
He looks like my father people blocking you know	Winston tastes good like a cigarette should	They were like people blocking you know

↓

quotative complementizer

comp/ _XP

Maya's like "Kim come over here and be with ...."

Figure 1 shows that when *like* precedes a noun phrase, it is used as a preposition, and when it takes a sentential complement its function is that of a conjunction. If the material that *like* precedes is a direct quote, it serves as an introductory item to that quote, hence as a quotative complement[7]. As *like* already has a considerable amount of syntactic freedom, it is at the point where it can be reinterpreted as a discourse marker, which is syntactically entirely free. Note that it can also, in accordance with its use as a suffix (i.e. *animal-like*), follow whole chunks of discourse; this is more the British English usage of the item (Miller and Weinert 1995).

Originally, I intended to follow the grammaticalization channel model as proposed by Romaine and Lange (1991). But due to the fact that the newer uses of *like* have not supplanted the older ones and since their model does not fully show the semantic-pragmatic link between functions at different ends of the channel, I have instead tried to find a model that can account for the multifunctionality and the overlapping of *like*'s functions in synchrony.

I follow Lakoff's (1987) radial structure model, which is able to show a non-suppletive development of multi-layered meanings via metaphorical extension, as Meyerhoff and Niedelzki (1995, 1998) have exemplified in their discussion of a similar lexeme in Bislama, *olsem* (meaning 'be like'). In this paper I will show that synchronically the different functions of *like* have a strong link to a core meaning, namely that of comparison. Even though the existing functions are still more or less closely linked to this core meaning, one cannot postulate a single grammatical channel joining uses that are progressively more remote from this core. Rather, my claim is that - as can be supported by cross-linguistic evidence - they form a semantic field around this one core and can be linked with each other more or less closely. In this paper, I will show the synchronic functions of *like* as in my data, first its use as a discourse marker in its various functions in section 3, then in its use as a quotative complementizer in section 4. I will try to trace a model of how these functions are semantically and structurally linked in section 5.

2. The data

The present paper is a case study, based mainly on a recording made during a gathering of a New York family. The literature seems to agree that discourse markers and the quotative complementizer use of *like* are more a feature of colloquial spoken English. For Watts (1989:208) they are 'one of the most perceptually salient features of oral style'. I therefore chose a data sample of a family gathering, a setting that I considered to be the most apt for the recording of the naturally occurring production of an item such as *like* because the interlocutors have known each other for a long time and are involved in relatively close relationships. Stylistically refined discourse is not required.

The speakers are a college-age girl, a freshman transcribed as X in the following examples, and the main speaker throughout the tape recordings, her French exchange student (A), and three adults of her family (C.-K, M, and F) all of them in their late 40s or mid-50s[8]. The interaction was audio-taped and transcribed[9] in the mid-90s and I will base my results mainly on one 90-minute cassette.

3. *Like* in non-quotative function

Like is a discourse sensitive item with multiple functions and ambiguous scope. I will show that even though its different uses are often highly ambiguous and overlapping, and therefore hard to pin down, it is nevertheless not justified to claim that *like* can have all functions in all contexts. Rather, the function it assumes in a given utterance depends on the intra- and extralinguistic context. I will now illustrate this claim and show in what way *like*'s multiple uses are interrelated and how they can be tied to one core meaning.

3.1 From the comparative meaning to a hedge

Like as a preposition or as a conjunction has a clearly comparative function with identity between the compared and the comparator. In talk-in-interaction, speakers use *like* when there is even a slight difference between the two entities compared. Thus Schourup (1982a: 30) proposes a 'more like' reading of *like*, which can still be subsumed under its standard meaning 'somewhat resembling'. In this reading, it is still related to its old core use of comparison and can be interpreted as a signal of imperfect rendering of what the speaker actually intended to express, an epistemic hedge (on the notion of hedge, see e.g. Lakoff (1972), House and Kasper (1981), Brown and Levinson (1987), Holmes (1984)). *Like* signals the listener not to take the utterance too literally and to be aware of the discrepancy between what the speakers have in mind and what they actually utter. Schourup (1982a:32) underlies this claim by giving evidence for the use of LIKE[10] as a comparative item, and as what he calls 'evincive', from languages such as Sierra Miwok, Lahu, and Raluana. This seems to be supportive cross-linguistic evidence for the grammaticalization channel linking comparative items and discourse markers, as traced for Standard English by Romaine and Lange (1992), and for *olsem* in Bislama by Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (1998, 1995). Consider the following example:

(5) M. If someone slips on the ice outside a building, (.)
they could almost sue the architect for not having put ice-melting=
=equipment in the sidewalk.
X. yeah,
into the sidewalk **like** (.) heaters.
but then...

X uses *heaters* as an inexact representation of an ice-melting device. Knowing that it is not the exact term, she employs it as a substitute for the lexical item (if there is any) she does not know or does not have in her immediate active word stock. *Like* as an epistemic hedge does not fully commit the speaker to the content of what she says[11]. In Underhill's words (1988:241) she 'leaves the statement slightly open', because openly stating her uncertainty would be a threat to her positive face[12].

Berlin (1992) argues that some entities are more representative, more focal than others, especially when categories are fuzzy. This is in accordance with Rosch's (1975, 1978) prototype theory, which holds that human categorization is not arbitrary or accidental but rather the result of psychological principles of categorization. In ex (5), *heaters* is not arbitrarily chosen but rather is a focal member of the category. It is more cognitively salient than other possibilities and is thus more prone to be chosen given the time constraints of talk-in-interaction. Note that the comparative 'similar to' meaning plays extensively in the function of *like* in these contexts, as this is exactly the relation of a prototype and its less prototypical, specific instantiation of the category.

The hedging via *like* in situations where prototypicality is involved can be very nicely seen with numerical expressions. Rosch (1975:533) claims that natural categories such as numbers have reference points, or 'anchoring points', in relation to which other stimuli are perceived and classified. Consider the following exchange:

(6) A. and what did he discover ?
X. well
he's still in the process of being discovered.
what he was discovering
he discovered (.) higher **like** millions of ( )

Like has the pragmatic implicature of 'for example'[13]. Its effect as a linguistic hedge before the numerical expression is to metaphorically signal the slight deviance from the intended meaning to the reference point, the prototypical *millions*. *Millions* can be understood as a prototype for 'a lot'. As it is a multiple of 1,000,000, a salient number in the decimal system, it provides 'a cognitive focus of [the] human-processing mechanism(s)' (Berlin 1992). The choice of the prototype in place of a non-focal member is not random but because it is a conceptually easily accessible classificatory item. *Like* has the interpersonal function of a pragmatic hedge, it marks the lexical choice as approximate and gives the speaker reduced responsibility.

3.2 From a comparative to a filler

As an extension of its 'more like', 'so to speak' sense, *like* becomes what has been called 'hesitative' or 'pausal filler', a use which has been most criticized by normativists and has been identified with slang or very casual speech (Schourup 1982a:39). Contrary to discourse markers like *oh* and *well*, *like* in this function is not an initial marker, it typically precedes afterthought modifications by speakers who want to continue their utterance but have difficulties formulating it. Current discourse analytic research (Fox and Jesperson 1995, Schegloff 1996) indeed shows that speakers plan ahead while it is not their turn and then jump in and claim the floor without having properly planned ahead their whole turn. As a result, problems can arise when the utterance is in the middle of production.

In my data, *like* in this use often precedes a restart or an anacoluthon.[14]. *Like* fills this pause, or part of it, and thus enables the speaker to hold the floor by filling in the silence or to signal that there is more

to come. By indicating that what follows is only an approximative rendering, the pause is 'detoxified' (Schourup 1982a: 46). Let me exemplify this use of *like* in the following example:

(7) C.K. So what else do you have apart from history,
X. I have I take(.) um I'm taking math (.) and it's **like** it's called=
=Sequential Bias (.) which (.),
next year I take Precalculus.

Like occurs at the point where X hesitates several times and fills one potential pause with the filler *like*. I argue that *like* here has about the same function as the discourse marker *um* a little before, a 'sound shadow' (Goffman 1981:109) to hold the floor.

The comparative approximate semantics of the source item make it an ideal word for the filling function because in claiming that something is in a way 'similar to' or 'in the same way as something', the speaker does not add much additional information to what he or she is saying. And, as *like*'s propositional meaning has become semantically bleached (Lehmann (1985), Romaine and Lange (1991), Sankoff et al. (1997)), it is the perfect particle to fill a pause, and to hold the floor.

3.3 From comparison/approximation to focus

In the literature, *like* is often interpreted as a focus marker. Underhill (1988) defines focus as the 'most significant information in a sentence' (cf. Kuno 1980:126). The presentation of new or newly focused-on information can trigger problems of formulation. A marker with an approximative function, and especially one that is already semantically heavily bleached, seems an ideal particle to introduce focused material - marking it as such while giving the speaker time to mentally prepare his following speech. The next example shows how *like* can be interpreted as a focusing item of a stereotyped notion. It precedes a stretch of speech, the content of which is a typical situation, the story of someone who suddenly becomes rich and famous.

(8) Talking about a man coming from India to England:
X. and he was **like** put up in a house,
Cambridge and everything,
was just amazing.

Because the story is a well-known motif, X marks it as that: the typical success story. *Like* in this context could be interpreted as hesitative or hedging. This would in turn be underlined by the fact that the speaker does not attempt an elaborate expression of her thoughts - marked by *and everything*. But intonation suggests otherwise. Because the speaker utters what follows *like* in a monotonous, dragging voice, I interpret *like* as focusing. Focus can mark material that is not common ground such as unusual notions. In this case it can be interpreted as drawing the addressee's attention to a stereotype (Schourup 1982). Note that as X only gives an approximate rendering of the story, *like* still retains some of its core comparative function in the sense that this instance is compared to and seen as one instance of the typical success story. In fact, I have not come across any instance of *like* where it can be interpreted purely as a focusing item without any approximative or comparative implication.

This use of *like* is quotation-near, in that the speaker uses prefabricated ideas or even parts of speech she has heard or read before, embedding them into personal narration from her perspective. *Like* sets off parts of speech the speaker cannot claim responsibility for, here a sort of indirect quote of a stereotype. This patchwork of chunks of speech of various authors and 'voices' creates a speech mosaic[15]. As I will exemplify in the next section, with *like* used as a quotative complementizer, the speaker can mark the borrowed part as second-hand, as a sort of reported speech.

4. *Like* as a quotative

4.1. From a comparison to a quotative

Syntactically, *like* can occupy a slot before a clause (as a preposition) or a sentence (as a conjunction). If it precedes a quotation, it can assume the syntactic function of an introductory item for reported speech. In Standard English, a quotation is usually preceded by a quotation frame (even though in actual speech there are a great number of cases where quoted speech occurs without a frame, cf. Romaine and Lange's (1991:235) 'bald', 'unframed', or 'unbracketed' reporting, also Mathis and Yule 1994).

In these cases, *like* cannot be analyzed as a discourse marker in the sense in which I have used it so far, as it does not fulfil the requirement that it be (Schiffrin 1987:31-32) 'sequentially dependent element(s) [...] *independent of sentence structure*' [emphasis mine]; yet in another, very explicit way, it is literally used to mark discourse. *Like*, here, has a clearly defined function: to introduce reported speech. It can be analyzed as a variant of quotative verbs such as *to say*, and *to go*, with which it can co-occur.

The mental salience of the link COMPARATIVE MARKER - QUOTATIVE COMPLEMENTIZER is underlined by the fact that Sankoff et al. (1997:205) found a parallel to the use of *like* as a quotative complement in the speech habits of young bilingual Canadians, who have a tendency to use *comme* - quite contrary to its use in standard continental French - as a quotative complementizer. In other words, the new function of *like* seems to be so cognitively and functionally salient that the pattern is even transferred from one language into the other. Furthermore, the salience of this pattern is backed further by Schourup's (1982a:33-34) and Meyerhoff and Niedzielski's (1998, 1995) findings that in a number of languages the cognate equivalents of *like* have become discourse introductory items. There thus seems to be cross-linguistic evidence for a functional correspondence between the functions of this marker (a point developed further by Güldemann 2001).

4.2 Like and speaker roles

Each of the quotative introductory verbs has a pragmatic effect that enables the speakers to express and modify their attitude towards the quote. The most neutral verb is 'to say', which merely reports without any special connotation. *Be like* can function in very much the same way in reported speech, as is shown in the following example:

(9)→ X. he usually (.) walks into class (.) and **says**,
'this is Stuyvesant (.)'.
that's it (.).
ah 'this is Stuyvesant (.).
this is not (.) Washington or Wayne',
.....
→ and he's **like** 'Stuyvesant (.).
and the most important thing in my class is maturity.' [changed voice][16]
→ and then he **says** he **says** to me....

Here, the speaker alternates *be like* and *say*. Both can be interpreted as straightforward quotation frames and in a superficial account of the utterance, they seem interchangeable. (I will come to the significant pragmatic difference later).

Romaine and Lange claim that the alternation of *be like* and other introducers demarcates different speakers. Blyth et al. rarely found any third person subjects with *like* in their data (1990:21). These findings cannot be confirmed with my data. Consider the above example, where both *say* and *be like*

are used with the same 3rd P.SING. In my data, speakers used *be like* with 1st P. SING, 3rd P. SING, and 3rd P. PL. In quoting whole dialogues speakers often introduce their own speech as well as that of other interlocutors with *like*.

(10) X. She's **like** ' it's a little sexist'.
I'm **like** 'a ↑little sexist ?'

Thus, in the above example, as in many others in my data, *like* was not used as a device to demarcate different speakers. Neither was there any aversion to the use of *like* with 3rd P.SING. As can be observed in (11), X. uses *like* for two different 3rd P.SING. Confusion does not arise because the pronouns show which person is speaking, a *be like –say* alternation to demarcate speaker roles might be an additional, redundant device to differentiate them.

(11) X. And so he'll be like telling the whole of us something from the Bible=
=and she's **like** 'Mr R. that wasn't in the book (.).
Mr. R there's nothing in the Bible that says anything like that',
.....
He's **like** 'it's a limited edition'.
.....
She's **li]ke**
Others] laugh]
X.] 'is it is it ?'

Thus, *be like* in my data can be a quotative complementizer without any distributional constraints concerning the person of the subject. Blyth et al.'s (1990) and Romaine and Lange's (1991) findings that *like* is used to demarcate or differentiate speaker roles are not supported by my material, where it seems to have been generalized to all persons (cf. Ferrara and Bell (1995) for similar results). This shows the speed with which *like* has spread since the first accounts of its grammaticalization as a complementizer in the late 80s. My data, then, can be seen as supportive of a generalization and a loss of selectional restrictions of *like*

4.3 *Like* and reported speech and thought

Before its grammaticalization, one of *like's* meaning was that of a comparative preposition. Because of this still more or less inherent semantic property and because of the possibility of a 'for example' and 'as if' reading, *like* can be used to present imaginary discourse as if it took place. As Ferrara and Bell (1995:279) pointed out, a clear boundary between speech and thought is hard to draw, especially for first person, it is often impossible to distinguish thought from actual speech. The quote's status as verbal or non-verbal is completely left open: it is more the speaker's attitude or opinion that is expressed in the form of reported speech. This sounds a lot like Goffman's (1981) so-called response cries, which are used to 'show or index the mental state of the transmitters'. Sometimes whole quotations can functions as indexes of inner states, used to 'clarify the drama of their [speakers] circumstances'. It does not really make any difference if the quoted material was actually uttered or if it was inner monologue, cf. Chafe's (1994) 'verbally uncommitted thought'.

Like, with its comparative semantics, is the ideal item to frame direct speech and inner monologue. Consider (12) below:

(12) X. So basically (.) I've skipped (.) I didn't realize this but I've skipped a=
=class. (.)
in my placing.
I didn't know this and I'm so I was **like** 'oh well hehh geez this is things' ,
you know,

X does not make it explicit if the quotation was uttered or not. It could well have been, but considering the very approximative nature of the speech act, and the fact that *oh well* is something like a conventional verbal marker for resignation, a kind of verbal shrug, it need not be the case. Romaine and Lange (1991:227) make the point that by using *like* the speaker invites the listener to infer that this is what the speaker was thinking OR saying at this very moment[17]. It is more the expressive content of the speech act or her thoughts rather than the exact words that are reported. The use of *you know* underlines this interpretation. X assumes that her interlocutors share the same code of expression, namely using *oh well* for the conventional situation of accepting one's fate, and checks this by using *you know*, thus appealing to common ground[18] (Schiffrin 1987).

In using *like* as a quotative introductory item, speakers sidestep the problem of where thought begins and where speech ends by presenting the quote as if it had taken place without committing themselves to its actual utterance. 'Discourse introduced by *like* blurs the boundaries between direct and indirect representation of both speech and thought report' (Romaine and Lange 1991:234).

I claim that *like*, as in the above example, precedes internal comments on the situation that can be given in this short form without having to give external evaluation (Labov 1972). X's speech is inward, a verbalization of what she thought at that moment.[19]

In my data, as shown in the above example, *like* precedes direct speech and internal thought and is used in both cases equally and in quick succession. As English has a great variety of introductory verbs for either thought or speech[20], it is all the more noteworthy that these verbs are increasingly replaced in favor of one single introducer.

4.4 *Like* as a hedging/approximative quotative

There are examples to be found where the context makes it clear that the reported speech introduced by *like* was actually uttered, as in the above example in line 01. These are quotes by 3rd person speakers that contain information necessary to the progression of the narrative. Speakers report the utterance but its form and content can only be rendered very approximately, because of the idiosyncrasy of expression in terms of accent, style, prosody etc. Tannen (1986a) takes into account that any attempt to imitate an idiolect cannot be more than an approximative reconstruction and calls what I have labeled 'reported speech' 'CONSTRUCTED DIALOGUE' (cf. also Fleischman and Yaguello's 'interpretative quotative' (to appear: 9)). As the reporting speaker cannot, due to her imperfect memory of the original utterance and due to her personal limitations concerning voice quality, pitch etc., give an exact rendering of the features of the original speech act, she uses *like*, which, given its approximative semantics, does not commit her to the form and the content of the quotation. As mentioned in 4.3, the speaker does not even state if the speech act ever took place. With *like* used for embedded evaluation, the vividness and directness of direct speech is retained, while giving the speaker only reduced responsibility for the quoted material. This parallels Fleischman and Yaguello's (to appear) statement that the reduced speaker liability brings quotations with *like* into the realm of indirect speech.

(13) 01 X. and the teacher's **like** 'well I don't know,
02 and like and so she's **like** ah she's **like** 'I don't know if that's true or not'.
03 and I was **like** I raised my hand and I was **like** '↑monde. (.)
04 monde means monde means world in French'.
→ 05 and she was **like** 'still and an:: (.)' you know whatever.

After having begun the quotation, X does not continue it. She does not perfectly recall the reply of the teacher, an interpretation that is underlined by the lengthening of *an:::* and the short pause which are both symptomatic of a short word search, which is then given up as the speaker decides not to render the quote verbatim. The discourse markers *you know* and *whatever* are a sign of inability and perhaps also of unwillingness to continue the reported speech[21].

Consider the next example: Here, the speaker talks about a transfer of shares that took place. The shares were sold for a very high price but the next day they had significantly dropped in value. She makes this fact explicit by including a little imaginary selling scene where the seller is trying to get rid of his nearly worthless shares.

(14) Talking about Wall Street
X. And they sold him for a very high price and they anh=
=the next day it's **like** ' two cents a sha::::re two cents a sha:::re'.
[changed voice]

The quotation introduced by *like* is purely approximative, an implication which is underlined by the use of *it's like* instead of *he's like*. The impersonal form shows that the quote is an illustrative example of what a hypothetical person could say or could have said in this situation. Ferrara and Bell (1995:278) point out that the impersonal construction is mainly used to report collective thoughts of a group or the habitual style of thought or speech for one individual. The quotation therefore cannot be called reported speech, because it has not come out of a real situation. It is purely imaginative, CONSTRUCTED DIALOGUE (Tannen 1986a) in its proper sense.

4.5 *Like* precedes non-lexical sounds, onomatopoeic expressions, stereotyped lexicalized sounds that express feelings, or non-verbal signs

In my data, a very striking phenomenon is the association of quotative *like* with sounds, prosodic and paralinguistic devices, gestures or mimicry (cf. Kendon's 'quotable gestures' (1996, 1994)).[22] An explanation for this phenomenon proposed by Romaine and Lange (1991) is that those sounds and movements cannot be embedded into indirect speech and therefore are best rendered by a construction such as *like* introducing direct speech. Güldemann (2001) traces a scenario whereby mimesis markers first are introducers of onomatopoetic elements, or gestures, and only then occur as quotative verbs. They only encroach upon this function later and via the most mimetic category, direct reported discourse, where they can become routinized.

Let me illustrate this by example (15) taken from ex. (16), which sounds more idiomatic when introduced by *like* than by *say* (and it is completely ungrammatical when rendered as indirect speech):

(15) a) I was like 'wow.'
b) I said 'wow'.
c) *I said that 'wow.'[23]

The observation that *like* is an item heavily used for introducing interjections goes along with the focusing effect some researchers claim it to have. In using *like* and a quote that consists of interjections, the speakers perform the narrative rather than simply tell it. This is in order to simulate the feelings and the setting at the time of the quote and to make it as vivid as possible (cf. Blyth et al. 1991:222)[24].

Like is a marker of direct speech and it is preponderantly used to introduce typical features of oral style such as the ones mentioned above. Like in a radio-play, a whole auditory scenario is built up in order to involve the interlocutor by being as expressive as possible. This emotion-based rather than factual mode of rendering reveals how the speakers felt in and perceived the situation. Speech with these characteristics has been called 'involved style' by Wolfson (1982), 'performed narrative' by Tannen (1989) and 'replaying' by Goffman (1981).

The content of the quotation can only be an approximative rendering of the whole emotional and contextual situation (note the persistence of *like*'s comparative/approximative semantics) but it has a much stronger expressive impact than a mere word-for-word articulation of what has happened[25]. As my data shows, this expressiveness and approximation are often revealed by the choice of *like* as a

quotative complementizer in contrast to the neutral, matter-of-fact *say*, which is more useful for expressing objective facts. Consider also the next example:

(16) 01 X. it was really great so,
02 and I loved my teachers so it was **like** 'wow'.
03 now.
04 this year it's just **like**-

The *wow* in line 2 is a conventionalized sound for positive amazement. As noted, it cannot be put into indirect speech and its expressive content makes it a typical item for direct quotation because it bears the connotation of immediateness and a close link to the situational context of the utterance. The second *like* very probably introduces a shrug or another non-verbal sign that expresses feelings differently but maybe even more precisely than words. I interpret the quote as framing a non-verbal sign because no utterance followed after the opening of the quotation frame in line 04, and because nobody of the present interlocutors claimed the floor at the transition relevance point.

4.6 *Like* precedes an imitation and/or changed voice or speech style

Consider ex. (17), where the speech of the teacher is imitated throughout the quote:

(17) X. cause he's **like** you know 'in my class I'm or↑iginal,
I give all kinds of fun::::: work'.
[changed voice]

X changes her voice to a tone that comes near the one of the teacher and tries to mock his prosody. The imitation adds to the content of the speech act and has to be considered part of the quote. Let us consider example (18):

(18) X. he usually (.) walks into class (.) and says,
'this is Stuyvesant (.)' .
that's it (_).
ah 'this is Stuyvesant (.).
this is not (.) Washington or Wayne',
.....
and he's **like** 'Stuyvesant (.).
[rhythmical clapping]
and the most important thing in my class is maturity'.
and then he says he says to me....

Here, too, the non-verbal sounds of the quote contribute to its impact. A mere quoting of the verbal utterance would not get across the whole expressive content, which is the sum of words AND sounds. We do not know if the teacher was really clapping or not. If he was, X. wants to express it because she considers it to be important to illustrate the way he is. If he was not, X. has probably inserted the clapping sound in order to add an important feature of his characteristic behavior that the listeners would not understand through the mere words he was saying. This could be militariness, insistence, or other negative features.

In the above examples, the quotation introduced by *like* contains not only additional non-lexical sounds but imitation sequences in order to make the utterance more illustrative, immediate, or appealing. Because one person takes all the roles, all characteristics, emotions, and motivations otherwise conveyed by the facial expression, typical tone of voice, or gestures of several interlocutors have to be rendered by the one narrator. In order to differentiate and to give a personal touch to the

utterances of the several speakers, their particular manner of speaking is imitated. The speaker roles are thus over-amplified by taking up their prosody melody etc. If we consider ex. (10) again, we can see that X. is imitating her own voice and the prosody she had used at the specific moment of the original utterance in order to signal astonishment and outrage. The same phenomenon can be seen in ex (14). Here, X tries to imitate the strategies of a stockbroker who is trying to sell shares. Even though she does not imitate any utterance she actually heard, she still adds to the propositional content by lending her imagined figure a loud, dragging voice creating a specific ambiance and profile for the supposed speaker.

In conclusion, speakers want to transfer more than just the words of the quotation when reporting events. They aim to bring across the ambiance and what the speaker might have felt at the moment of talk. Thus, *like* introduces more than just speech, it introduces whole performances, what Romaine and Lange (1991) call EMBEDDED EVALUATION. In reporting more than mere words, but also the feeling, gestures, and motivations of the speaker, the quoting speaker conveys additional information inside the quotation frame instead of having to step out of it and having to start a different construction for comments, motivation, etc.

In this respect *like* can function as a floor-holding device[26]. A speaker can present his utterance as a stretch of talk with changing speaker roles, like in a radio-play. Nordberg (1984:20) has shown that such enacting captures the attention of the listeners much more than a long monologue of indirect incorporated speech. The use of *be like* as a quotative complement lets the narrator stay in his own perspective. He acts as a moderator and presents the multiperspectives of single speakers whom he lets talk as if for themselves.

5. Proposed semantic field

Romaine and Lange's (1991) grammaticalization model concentrates on *like*'s syntactic development and tries to link it with semantic-pragmatic facts. They account for the co-occurrence of the uses of *like* and for the fact that its development is not strictly sequential by postulating a branching model. A 'linear model of grammaticalization is inadequate to account for these developments.' (1991:262). As I have shown throughout this paper, *like* is multifunctional and its meanings are often ambiguous e.g. between a hedge and a focusing item, or between a focus marker and a quotative as in (8). Romaine and Lange (1991:245) very lucidly point out that "the meanings of 'approximative' and 'similarity' as well as the focus function have contributed to both the discourse introductory and the discourse marker uses of *like*". And they claim that a semantic core model might fit best to explain the status quo of *like* in synchrony.

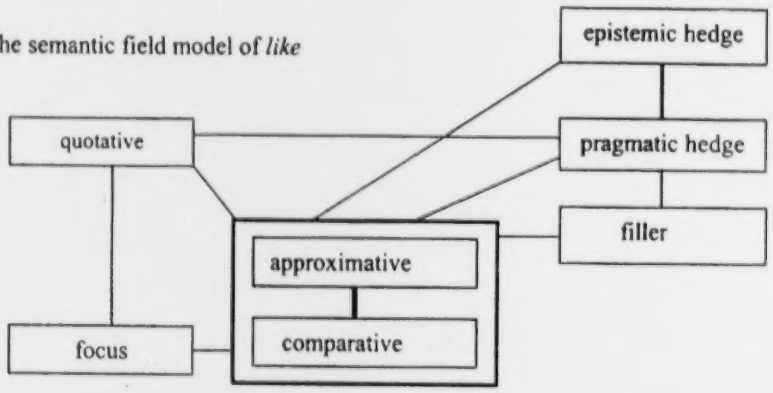
As I have shown above, a grammaticalization channel (Heine and Traugott 1991) does not show how the synchronically co-existing meanings overlap and reinforce each other. A channel model, even a branching one, does not account for this fact particularly well because it does not explain overlapping and ambiguity of meaning between functions at opposite ends of the channel. I have tried to show that with *like* functions such as the quotative complement and the discourse marker do overlap.

Furthermore, as has been shown in this paper, all uses of *like* still have a semantic trait of comparison/approximation. A channel suggests a suppletive development, at least in the larger diachronic perspective, when, in fact, we find persistence of meaning[27]. The fact that all the uses of *like* co-exist calls for an investigation of the status quo. Fleischman and Yaguello (to appear) propose a multiple pathway model, which reduces one problem inherent in a step-by-step pathway as it shows the close link to the comparative meaning in the metaphorically extended functions. But they nevertheless do not account for the inter-relatedness and ambiguity of the grammaticalized uses of *like* amongst themselves.

Following Lakoff's (1987) radial structure model, I offer a synchronic chart that shows how the superficially messy facts can be linked in an orderly way. Behind the overlappings and ambiguities that result from *like*'s multifunctionality lies an interrelated net of semantic-pragmatic pathways that I

will show to be cross-linguistically sustained. Figure 2 is a representation of the synsemantic field of *like* with its core semantic-pragmatic meaning in the center and the functional extensions linked both with the core as well as amongst themselves.[28]

Figure 2: The semantic field model of *like*



For historical reasons, and because it is the persistent semantic trait, I assume as the basic core meaning of *like* the notion of comparison. This gives rise to various other, related meanings that can also be considered as interrelated amongst themselves and which still contain its core semantic meaning to a greater or lesser degree.[29] The comparative core meaning of *like* is very closely related to its approximative semantics. I have shown in example (5) how its purely comparative meaning can give rise to a comparison which is more like a 'loose fit' (Schourup 1982a) between the two compared pieces of talk, or between an item that is seen as a more prototypical example and between something more specific. The semantic path is one that moves from a 'similar' to a 'somewhat resembling' meaning. I take *like*'s comparative and approximative functions to be closely tied as their semantics overlap a great deal and as they are even harder to disentangle than the other, more distantly related uses of *like*. Thus, I interpret the core meaning of *like* to be comparative/approximative.

As Haiman (1989:310) puts it 'the comparative construction is one which contrasts, and hence focuses the elements which are compared... the element compared being more highlighted'. In other words, the semantic link between comparing and focusing seems to be a fairly salient one.

Given the fact that *like* can signal approximation and loose comparison, and still reflect this propositional content of 'similar to'. I suggest that this looseness of fit can be interpreted on the propositional level as an epistemic hedge. That is a signal of this loose fit between two items compared. (This was also seen in ex (6)). Sweetser (1990:28) points out the frequent link between items that signal physical likeness and epistemic stances; the path from comparison to a hedge of epistemic uncertainty seems to be a well-trodden one cross-linguistically (I will return to this point in discussing the comparative chart below in figure 2). When *like* is transferred to an interpersonal, affective level, one can reinterpret it as a pragmatic hedge. The difference here is that *like* is used as a face-saving device[30].

As shown in e.g. (7), the comparative 'similar to' semantics of *like* make it an ideal filling item in case formulating problems arise. In saying that something is *like* something else, the speaker can be heard filling a pause. I assume *like* in its filling function to be an extension of its pragmatic hedging function. It works on the interpersonal level, as a floor-holding device, and as a signal of production problems. Not only does it provide lexical material to fill the pause that might threaten the speaker's claim to the floor but it also shows that one is not quite happy with the lexical choices one had to make due to time constraint.

The link between focus marker and quotative complementizer can be explained by the fact that, as has been pointed out before, quotations are very often the most focused part of an utterance as they display immediacy and interpersonal involvement. In the case of *like* as a quotative introducer, the reported

elements are often approximative in nature in that they are either constructed dialogue or it does not become clear if they were actually uttered or not. Thus they are not merely reports of speech acts but what Fleischman and Yaguello (to appear:13) have called 'paradigmatic exemplars: one statement among others, similar in form and content, that could be produced in the circumstances in question'. Here, the link to *like*'s comparative core meaning is evident, as in ex (14) [31]. *Like,* given its approximative semantics, does not commit the speaker to the form and the content of the quotation. It functions as a hedge both on the referential and on the interpersonal level, as the speaker retains a reduced responsibility with respect to what was said and how.

Romaine and Lange's (1991) linear model of a semantic pathway has been recast here as a network of relations. This model has been inspired both by the findings of Lakoff's (1987) work and by the fact that Traugott (1998) postulated that grammaticalization paths are not always unidirectional. Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (1998, 1995) conclude that a similar model most adequately represents the grammaticalization of *olsem* meaning 'be like' in Bislama. Güldemann (2001) claims that, especially in the field of quotative verbs, the current unidirectional grammaticalization accounts should be challenged.

The links between the synchronically co-occurring and often overlapping uses of *like* are metaphorical and metonymical extensions from one common comparative/approximative core and conventionalizations of conversational implicatures. They extended to a network of relations. The diverse functions that *like* has assumed synchronically are motivated by this model - they cannot be predicted but they are explained.

The new uses of *like* are spreading sociolinguistically, as Ferrara and Bell's (1995) study shows. As the older uses still persist in the language, we can assume that the development is additive rather than suppletive. A clear-cut linear grammaticalization path, such as the ones postulated by Heine and Traugott (1991), Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer (1991), and Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994), where functions and meanings supplant each other, cannot explain the synchronic facts. Only a semantic field model is able to cope with the linguistic reality and explain the co-existence of various instantiations centering around and linked by a core meaning. In accordance with Hopper's (1991) principle of persistence of meaning, the semantic core meaning of comparison/approximation is still present in all the derived uses which are linked to each other in various ways.[32]

The value of these claims is underlined by much cross-linguistic evidence. There appears to be a cognitive/perceptually salient pragmatic-semantic link between the functions outlined above such as hedge, quotative, focus etc. and the core-meaning of comparison. If source-items in two or more different languages, especially languages that are unrelated such as English and Thai, follow parallel paths of development without any evident contact, this supports the assumption that there is a general link between the notion of comparison and its derived functions. Hence, Traugott (1995) asks if one can make cross-linguistic generalizations about the development of discourse particles both in terms of their semantic sources and their semantic-pragmatic paths. (Consider also Mosegaard Hansen (1998:85) who points out that, synchronically and diachronically, discourse markers can be traced back to a number of related uses and that in their development they have usually changed word class).

Studies like Fleischman and Yaguello (to appear), Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (1998, 1995) and this present paper reinforce this claim and show that there are cross-linguistic parallels between the source items and the outcome of such semantic-pragmatic developments. Let me demonstrate this with a table of findings from other languages[33].

Table 1: Cross-linguistic distribution of LIKE lexemes

	approximative	comparison	reported speech	reported thought	focus	hedge	filler
English *like*	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Bislama *olsem*	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Japanese *nanka*	x	x	x	x	(x)	x	x
French *genre*	x	x	x	x	x	x	?
Chinese *xiang*		x	x	x	x	x	
Buang	??	(na) be	(na) be	(na) be	??	be	??
Thai *bæ:p*	x		(x)	x	x	x	x

This table[34] provides more cross-linguistic evidence for a close semantic link between the notion of approximation, hedging, focusing, and introducing of discourse. It has often been claimed that discourse markers are highly language specific items (Mosegaard Hansen 1995, Brinton 1996), hard to translate, and only understandable within their specific linguistic system. But Table 1 shows that similar lexical items in unrelated languages are generalized to serve discourse functions. This means that the claims about specificity and untranslatability of discourse particles can be relaxed. I have tried to show that multiple discourse functions within the same related field are quite widespread among unrelated languages. This is highly suggestive of a universal semantic field lying behind such coherent findings.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have shown that the boundaries of the different functions of *like* are very hard to determine and its interpretation depends heavily on the context. I do not think that it is always possible to subcategorize them in the current state of research. The interpretation does rely heavily on the situation, the chosen prosody, speaker intention, and on hearer reception. Interpretations must necessarily be subjective.

I have attempted to demonstrate that a unidirectional grammaticalization model may not be the best way to capture the synchronic multifunctionality of *like*. This fact is best captured by a radial structure model first introduced by Lakoff (1987), which allows for one core meaning with metaphorical and metonymic extensions more or less closely linked amongst themselves while retaining their original core function.

Sociolinguistic research backs the claim that we cannot postulate a channel with obsolete uses at one end and new ones at the other end. Rather, the old uses persist with the new ones becoming more and more widespread. As I have shown in this paper, and as Ferrara and Bell's (1995) study underlines, *like* as a quotative has now been generalized for young American English speakers and is used with all grammatical persons and for both internal thought and direct speech. The speed of grammaticalization and its obvious close interaction with the syntactic system are a matter of great interest for future research: we can continue to look at the development of *like* as the generation that uses this item for preference grows older.

Appendix:

Transcription conventions

carriage return	intonation unit
[ ]	overlap
=	quick, immediate connection of new turns or single units
(.)	micro-pause
(-), (--)	short, middle pause
::::	lengthening, according to its duration
?	high rise, appeal intonation
,	mid rise, continuing intonation
.	low fall, final intonation
( )	unintelligible passage, according to its duration
accent	primary or main accent
!ac!cent	extra strong accent
↑	pitch step up
↓	pitch step down
‘ ‘	signals for start and end of quote

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Notes:

[1] This paper was realizable due to the lively discussion in the Ling 640 class at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. My thanks go to all its participants for their comments and suggestions and especially to Miriam Meyerhoff. I also am deeply indebted to Prof. Couper-Kuhlen for her comments on the earlier drafts of this paper and for giving me the permission to use her data.

[2] This priming effect was found more generally by Tannen (1987), who showed that speakers are more likely to use a word that has already occurred in a conversation than a completely 'new' one.

[3] As Blyth et al (1990:223) have shown that in their data, *like* was only used by speakers UNDER 38. A follow-up study by Ferrara and Bell in 1995 found out that the oldest speaker that actually used it as a discourse marker was 39 (!!)`

[4] This article focuses on the use of *like* in American English. While its use in other varieties is attested (Macaulay 2001 for Scottish English, Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) and Miller and Weinert (1995) for British English), I do not claim that my findings can necessarily be generalized. Further research will show if universal tendencies can be postulated with respect to *like*'s functions across varieties.

[5] Discourse markers have been commonly classified as particles drawn from a heterogeneous group of functional classes that are stylistically stigmatized, short, unstressed, optional items that do not affect the truth value of a sentence and do not contribute to propositional content. Their occurrence is a typical feature of oral style where they have to be interpreted on a global level as they have textual and interpersonal function, cf.Kroon (1995), Schiffrin (1987) .

[6] In the discourse marker use, *like* is semantically the most bleached and syntactically the most variable.

[7] The fact that it co-occurs with a verb of saying led to its classification as a complementizer (cf. fig 1). Mostly, though, it nowadays accompanies the semantically empty 'dummy verb' *to be* (cf. Romaine and Lange 1991).

[8] One has to bear in mind that my data represents the speech habits of a few persons during a very limited stretch of time rather than being representative of the use of *like* in spoken language in general (for *like's* quantitative sociolinguistic distribution see Romaine and Lange (1991), Ferrara and Bell (1995), Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999)).

[9] The transcription conventions I have used are given as an appendix to this paper.

[10] In this paper, I use the convention of marking the lexeme in SMALL CAPITALS and the English word *like* in *italics*.

[11] I am grateful to Keira Ballantyne for pointing out to me that, in some cases, speakers are reluctant to put in exact technical terms even if they know them because the assertion of in-field knowledge would put them in the position of claiming knowledge of a field that they might be unwilling to take on.

[12] For the notion of face see e.g. Brown and Levinson (1987), Holmes (1992).

[13] Schourup (1982a:37) paraphrases this as 'What I say is *like* what I mean'.

[14] This finding is underlined by Andersen et al.'s (1999:1339) claim that discourse markers signal production problems.

[15] This problem of speaker commitment to quotes that have become stereotypes or somehow 'common goods' has been commented on by many scholars, see especially Flaubert in his 'Dictionnaire des

idées reçues' (1966) and its fictional counterpart 'Bouvard et Pécuchet' (1966), and by Bakhtin (1986). Goffman (1981) talks about 'lamination'.

[16] I have used little asterisks to add additional prosodic or extralinguistic information about the utterance. Here they mark a changed voice. In the following examples, I will continue to mark extralinguistic sounds and marked pitch or prosody by asterisks and add the quality of additional information in square brackets.

[17] I follow Ferrara and Bell (1995), who take into account that the area between speech and thought is quite fuzzy by the use of the expression 'reported discourse' rather than 'reported speech'.

[18] This interpretation is underlined by the rising intonation of *you know*, which I interpret as an appeal for back-channel (cf. Holmes' 1986:10 classification as 'appeal for reassurance')

[19] Ferrara and Bell (1995) claim that the function of *like* in contexts such as the above is a substitution of the now obsolete soliloquy, as it gives speakers the possibility to open up their internal worlds to the public.

[20] Cross-linguistically, the marking of indirect speech and thought is done via functional devices such as the irrealis mode, evidentials, aspect markers ect.

[21] I interpret this *whatever* (and the *you know* preceding it) to be outside the quotation frame, a comment of X external to the quote. It is used as a signal for the listener that she does not fully remember the exact form or/and that the rest of the quotation is too unimportant to be reported.

[22] This parallels the use of quotative *go* (Butters 1980). Consider also the new use of *all* in American English as in *She was all '...'*, which seems to parallel the use of *like* as a quotative complementizer for token mimicry, sound effects etc.

[23] cf. Schourup's (1982 b) footnote that *go* and *like* serve the important function of distinguishing the problematic ambiguity between direct and indirect quotes in English. As they can only occur with direct quotes, their spread in present-day verbal interaction might well be attributed to this very specific function.

[24] Labov (1972) and Chafe (1982) state that narratives are more vivid when direct speech is used to report dialogue.

[25] Note the obvious link to Goffman's (1981) 'response cries',which are used to show or index the mental state of the transmitters, to 'clarify the drama of their circumstances'. Thus the use of *like* and the response cries reveal the inner state and thereby create listener involvement.

[26] Note that this bears the possibility of the presentator's superimposing his attitude such as irony, animosity... on the quoted persons utterance (cf. Fleischmann and Yaguello to appear: 11 'dual voice utterances' and Mathis and Yule (1994) 'double voicing effect'. Consider also the close link to free indirect discourse.

[27] Even diachronically, the development of *like* does not proceed unilaterally along one chain of linked functions. The facts in the OED show that *like*'s grammaticalization cannot be modeled as a unidimensional outgrowth where one use develops into a new use and from there into the next one. Rather, the facts point to simultaneous development in several directions from one core meaning. According to the OED, like from adj *gelic* 'having the form of' developed in the 14th century 2 meanings: 'approximately' and 'as if'. In the 19th century there was another extension of meaning to 'for example' and 'as such'. The 20th century saw the development of the discourse marker and the

discourse introductory function (cf. also Meehan 1991). Consequently, a radial structure model, while prevalently a synchronic model, can also account for the fact that *like's* diachronic development is non-linear. More diachronic research in this field has to be done, though, before we are able to assert that the diachronic evolution of *like's* semantic and pragmatic functions can be mapped onto this kind of model.

[28] Note that the model sketched here can only be a poor representation of the complex, multidimensional synsemantic field of *like* where functions overlap and are linked both with each other and the core meaning. Within the field, these links can be more or less tight, speakers can tighten or loosen them, or create new links (which would lead to the addition of functions within the field). Being bound to the representation on paper, the overlappings and links amongst *like's* functions were indicated with a few schematic lines.

[29] Note that this chart shows the synchronic semantic field of *like*.

[30] There typically is a certain amount of uncertainty about the functioning of a hedge on the interpersonal and the epistemic levels (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987). Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (1995:6) show a link between the two hedging functions concerning *olsem*.

[31] Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (1995:2) state that when *olsem* is used as a quotative complement, it is because it has acquired the function of a general marker of identity. The assertion is that the complement clause is an instantiation of the main clause state or action. Thus there is an identity, a 'literal instantiation of the event of the speaker talking'.

[32] Lichtenberk (1991:476) calls this heterosemy: 'where two or more meanings or functions that are historically related, in the sense for deriving from the same source, are carried by reflexes of the common source element that belong in different morphosyntactic categories'

[33] For an extensive cross-linguistic study on the link between items meaning 'like', quotative verbs, and various other domains see Güldemann (2001)

[34] For the information in this chart I am indebted to the following persons: Mie Hiramoto, Kazumi Yoshihara, Aaron Tsang, Sumittra Suraratdecha, Preena Kangkun, Gillian Sankoff, and Miriam Meyerhoff

EXAMINING THE INTANGIBLE PROCESS: LOTUS SCREENCAM AS AN AID TO INVESTIGATING STUDENT WRITING.

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Abstract

This study, involving a group of three learners on a full-time EFL course, attempted to gain insight into the process of collaborative writing using word-processing by combining Lotus ScreenCam recordings of the evolving text with audio-recordings of the interaction amongst the group. The approach allowed changes to the text to be matched to the reasons given for each change. In just over half the changes made, learners justified change with reference to grammar or 'feel' for language. However, there was no evidence that justification meant that a proposal was more or less likely to succeed, as almost all proposals were incorporated in the final text.

1. Introduction

This research was inspired by a quotation from Hairston (1982):

> We cannot teach students to write by looking only at what they have written. We must also understand how that product came into being, and why it assumed the form it did. We have to try to understand what goes on during the act of writing ... if we want to affect its outcome. We have to do the hard thing, examine the intangible process, rather than the easy thing, evaluate the tangible product.

In seeking to examine the intangible process, we have explored a number of techniques since this research started to gain insight into the process of writing and, as a necessary complement, for recording the product, the written text. Think-aloud protocol, whereby students are encouraged to voice their thoughts to an audio recorder while writing, was rejected without trial on the grounds that it is both unreliable and artificial. We do not voice our thoughts, at least not for sustained periods, while writing, and prompting students each time they fall silent was considered unlikely to aid the process of composition. Similarly, interviewing students after they write on the reasons for the choices and changes they made was considered unreliable and impractical. Even immediately after the event, we are unlikely to recall accurately the reasons for each move in the process of writing. In addition, the time required by researchers to identify the points in the product they wish to discuss leads to delays in interviewing, making the technique even less reliable.

The solution we adopted was to ask student writers to work in groups and to audio-record the interaction amongst the group as they worked together to edit and compose a text. Group work is a long-established procedure in the language classroom and the subjects were familiar with working in this way. The need to justify and explain change and choice to other group members was felt to offset the disadvantage that with group writing it is not possible to track the writing processes of an individual. Change and choice are constrained by the need to compromise with other group members.

Recording the emerging product involved word-processing from the start. In the early days of this research students were asked to save their writing at one-minute intervals in separate files to provide a series of snapshots of the emerging text, but this proved a clumsy instrument. Human error meant that files were frequently overwritten. Asking students to save at this frequency disturbs their concentration. In addition, not all changes can be captured in this way. What is required is a continuous recording of the product to match the continuous audio recording of the process. Videoing the screen is not practical: using a video camera with small groups is an invasive procedure and technical difficulties, the curvature of the screen and the scanning frequency of the computer monitor, mean that not everything on the screen can be recorded clearly. However, feeding the video signal

from the computer via a specially constructed modem to a video-recorder, so that the emerging product was recorded on videotape, gave excellent results. The procedure is much less invasive, requiring only a microphone in the students' work area.

Other researchers have used computer logs to capture the evolution of text. Some software programs come with a logging facility included, e.g. *Sequitur* (Higgins et al. 1999) and *Jumbler* (Johns & Wang 1999). In other cases, a script can be written to track user behaviour (e.g. Collentine 2000). These techniques have the disadvantage that programming knowledge or the services of a programmer are required, and the output is not easy to read. (see example in Miller, 2000:129.) A rather special case of a logging program is Lotus ScreenCam. As the publicity[1] puts it: "Lotus ScreenCam turns your PC into a VCR that records every click, scroll and action on your screen". The result is a "movie" which can be played back like a video tape. In the case of word-processing, every word typed, deleted, cut and pasted, or dragged to another location is recorded. Furthermore, a "sound-track" can be added if the PC has a microphone and sound card. We therefore decided to test the effectiveness of ScreenCam in studying the writing process. The version used was ScreenCam97.

1.1 Research Questions

1. What sort of changes do learners make to a text when they write collaboratively and with what effect?

2. How do learners initiate change and with what effect?

3. What reasons do learners give for the changes they make when they write collaboratively?

4. How effective is ScreenCam as a tool for researching collaborative computer-based writing tasks?

'Learners' in this context means adult learners at intermediate level attending a full-time EFL course at the Institute for Applied Language Studies, University of Edinburgh. 'Collaboratively' means working in a group of three – only one group was looked at in the study reported here.

1.2 Related Research

There is an extensive literature on research into writing. The focus here is on attempts to investigate the process of writing using computer technology.

1. In general terms, it is known that problem-solving CALL tasks tend to generate more complex 'off-screen' talk than CALL activities such as cloze completion,(Abraham & Liou 1991; Piper 1986).

2. The advantages of wordprocessing in a process approach to teaching writing have been frequently described, in particular the ease with which major editing changes can be made. Arguments for collaborative writing in a process approach with peers acting as readers and co-editors are also well known. Less frequently described are the advantages of wordprocessing and collaborative writing as tools for researching the process of writing. Groundwater-Smith (1993), although concerned with L1 writers, summarises the benefits of collaborative writing as a means of gaining insight into the writing process: "Each writer must draw the attention of her or his peers to the reasonings underpinning: the selection of a word or phrase, the juxtaposition of ideas and arguments; the raising and resolution of a particular conundrum; the rejection of alternative voices" (Groundwater-Smith 1993:10).

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[1] http://www.lotus.com/products/screencam.nsf/

3. More recently Swain and Lapkin (1998) examined the language generated by pairs involved in a range of tasks including composition but there are significant differences in the method and the focus of their research. In their case the writing was done without wordprocessing and the research focused on the 'collaborative dialogue' without reference to the emerging written product. In particular, Swain and Lapkin were interested in the evidence that such dialogue provides for language acquisition whereas the research reported here is concerned with the reasons students give for the changes and choices in their writing and for the insight afforded into the writing process.

   Nevertheless, the work of Swain and Lapkin is important for this study. Their concept of the Language Related Episode (LRE) provides a useful tool for describing data collected from the audio recordings. "A LRE episode is defined as as any part of a dialogue where the students talk about the language they are producing, question their language use, or correct themselves or others" (Swain & Lapkin 1998).

4. Storch (1999) investigated whether students working in pairs and discussing their grammatical choices produced more accurate written texts than students working on similar exercises individually. One of the tasks set was a composition. Storch concluded that collaboration and the metatalk it generated resulted in more accurate output. Collaborative compositions had fewer errors, the percentage of error-free clauses increased from 47 to 61%, but were shorter and less syntactically complex than individual work.

2. Method

2.1 The Task

The task was designed to allow an element of individual composition and of group composition. In addition, the group-editing and composing phases required that attention be paid to discourse features such as cohesion and coherence.

In detail, each participating class was divided into groups of three. Each student in each group was issued with two frames, in the correct sequence, of an eight-frame picture story. The final two frames were not issued. Students were asked to describe in writing their frames using the Past simple and Past progressive as appropriate. As soon as this individual work was completed, students entered their text into a word-processor. Students could comment on each other's texts as they were entered. When all three texts were in place, students could look at each other's pictures. They then had to decide on the correct sequence of the story and rearrange their texts accordingly. When the texts had been resequenced and the subsequent changes necessary to make a coherent, cohesive text had been made, the group had to decide how the story should be completed and give it a title. Teacher comment throughout was kept to a minimum to encourage groups to find their own solution to difficulties, to make their own decisions on changes and choices. When the class had completed the task, groups were able to load in the stories of other groups, make comments and return them to their authors, as the PCs were linked in a LAN. Typically the task took between an hour and an hour a half to complete. In the study reported here approximate times for the the three main phases were: individual typing (15 minutes), joint sequencing and correction of the individual texts (25 minutes), and joint composition of the conclusion to the story (10 minutes). The balance of time was spent reading each other's texts and commenting on them. Students input their own text and took turns at acting as scribe for other phases on an ad hoc basis without teacher intervention.

2.2 Data Collection and Analysis

A ScreenCam recording of each group's work at the computer was made, as well as a simultaneous audio-recording of their talk. The audio-recordings were subsequently transcribed. For this pilot study, we selected one good recording and analysed the transcript to identify LREs, adopting Swain & Lapkin's (1995 & 1998) definition. We were able to identify a separate LRE for each language change

in all cases except one, where there was so much overlap that it was impossible to divide the LRE up. In this episode, the students were discussing the sentence 'Two men are leaving a jewellery' in F's first draft.

Extract 1

F 'Two men are leaving' ...

G 'were leaving' er It's no good. It's better 'Thieves'

F Yeh

G 'Thieves left jewellery' ... 'left'

F 'left the jewellery'

In this short episode, G and F referred to (1) the use of a present tense verb ('are leaving'), and to lack of cohesion (2) in the subject 'Two men' (since they had already been identified) and (3) in the indefinite article (since the jewellery [sic] had also been mentioned earlier). We counted this as one LRE, although it resulted in 3 changes.

Analysis of the ScreenCam recording was more problematic. It is possible to print out a screen shot capturing each change to the text, but this would require an inordinate number of printouts, and in the end we found it simpler to make a manual note of changes as we watched the film. The notes were then analysed to try to distinguish between changes made for linguistic reasons and those related to the content of the story. The distinction was not always easy. Extract 2 illustrates the problem.

Extract 2

J Maybe put 'a few minutes later' ...

F Where?

J 'A few minutes later the ...'

F Here?

J Yeh, yeh.

This discussion involved J's text "The guardian was woken up by some strange sounds", and was classified as a change for discourse reasons, although there is a case for saying it was a content addition.

The LREs were matched with the changes to the text in a grid. A sample of the grid is given in Appendix 1.

The individually written texts, the combined and edited versions, and the jointly composed ending (See Appendix 2) were analysed for surface errors and sentence complexity.

3. Results

3.1 The learners

A profile of the three students in the group is shown in Table 1. 'Cloze' refers to the IALS placement test. There are 146 items. A score of 50 out of 146 is equivalent to IELTS 5.0 or TOEFL 480; IALS 80 is equivalent to IELTS 6.5 and TOEFL 580.

Table 1: Student Profiles

Name & Nationality		Gender	Occupation	Cloze 1 (initial)	Cloze 2 (final)
G	Italian	M	lawyer	55	65
F	Swiss	M	sculptor	57	84
J	Chinese	F	accountant	54	72

The pilot study was carried out midway between the two Cloze tests.

3.2 The changes

There were roughly 2,400 words[2] of dialogue between the three students in 50 mins, i.e. 48 wpm. About 1,300 words in the recording were about language (54%). Other talk was about the interpretation of the pictures, the task, or computing, plus a little social chat, e.g. *F: to play with the keyboard is much more difficult, no?*

There were 74 LREs, yielding an overall rate of approximately 1.5 LREs/min. There were 7 in the individual phase (15 minutes, i.e. 0.5 LREs/min), 46 in the sequencing/editing phase (25 minutes, i.e. 1.8 LREs/min) and 21 in the composition phase (10 minutes, i.e. 2.1 LREs/min).

A total of 75 changes were made, comprising 66 language changes and 9 content changes. There were 74 LREs but only 66 language changes. This is because

1. on three occasions the LRE did not result in any change at all;
2. on nine occasions the discussion was interrupted and the change delayed until the discussion was resumed in a new LRE, for example LRE 2 and 4 in Appendix 1;
3. two changes were made silently, for example Change 8 in Appendix 1;
4. one LRE (see Extract 1) resulted in three changes.

Table 2 shows that 17 (26%) of the changes concerned discourse. This involved considerations of reference (substituting pronoun for noun, definite for indefinite article, etc.), use of connectives, and avoidance of repetition.

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[2] Figure based on Microsoft 'Word' count of the LREs.

Table 2: Language area involved in changes (n=66)

Phase	Discourse	Vocabulary	Grammar	Spelling	Punctuation	Mixed	Total
Individual	0	3	1	0	1	0	5
Sequencing	13	8	10	8	1	1	41
Composing	4	5	3	3	3	2	20
Total	17	16	14	11	5	3	66

3.3 Effectiveness

The original and edited student texts as well as the jointly composed ending are included in Appendix 2. Table 3 shows the number of error-free clauses made in the original drafts and edited versions. Working together, the students were able to correct 50% of errors on average, but the other 50% apparently went unobserved. In editing the texts, new errors were added, making the final versions slightly less accurate than the originals (15 errors/100 words as opposed to an average of 14/100, respectively), although the jointly composed ending to the story was better with only 9 errors/100 words.

Table 3: Error-free clauses

Author	Original texts	Edited texts
F	1 (12%)	0 (0%)
G	2 (29%)	2 (29%)
J	2 (25%)	2 (25%)
Total	5 (22%)	4 (18%)
Joint	4 (57%)	3 (43%)

Table 4 shows that there was little or no change in the complexity of the individual contributions after editing, but the jointly composed text was more complex, even with the adjusted figures.

Table 4: Complexity

Author	Original text		Edited text	
	Words/sentence	Clauses/sentence	Words/sentence	Clauses/sentence
F	10.8	1.6	13.0	1.6
G	16.25	1.75	17.0	1.75
J	15.75	2.0	17.0	2.0
Joint*	21.0 (14.0)	3.5 (2.3)	-	-

*Failure to divide one very long sentence into two is probably the result of a punctuation oversight. The figures in brackets may therefore be more representative.

Of the 65 language changes, 46 (70%) resulted in an improvement. In three cases a correct form was changed to something which was incorrect. In thirteen cases, an incorrect form was changed to another incorrect form; these involved mainly spelling but include 'afraid about' to 'afraid to'. Four changes did little or nothing to improve the text.

3.4 Initiation of changes

On 13 occasions, (17% of LREs), a change was proposed by the authors themselves. Where one person in the group suggested a change to another's text, this was often done quite bluntly (33 LREs, 45%), as in Extract 3, where G was referring to the text *'He was affraid about the consequences'*. The two changes were made without comment from the others.

Extract 3

G 'He was afraid' with one 'f' and not 'about' but 'to'...

On other occasions, (28 LREs, 38%), the proposal was more tentative and formulae such as "is better", (e.g. Extract 4), and "don't need" (Extract 11) were used.

Extract 4

G No, better...'thieves left the jewellery after robbing it', 'after robbing'. What do you think?

J I don't know

Occasionally, the proposal was in the form of a question (Extract 5).

Extract 5

F 'And one of them threw a stong'. A 'stong', that's right? I never heard this word.

J No, maybe a brick

G a brick J a brick

The type of initiation did not affect the outcome, however. Delay in change followed either blunt correction or the more indirect type, and the same was true in the three cases where there was no change at all.

Sometimes, the author of the text under attack intervened, but in most cases this appeared to be merely asking for repetition or clarification, as in Extracts 6 & 7. Only in six instances is there any resistance to change, as in Extract 11. In four of the six cases the resistance was overcome. In two, Extracts 9 and 10, G successfully resisted the change,

Extract 6

G You've just written

F What?

G You've just written this.

F Yeh, of course.

Extract 7

F 'in the car'

G 'in'?

F Yeh, 'on' the top of the car

There were three occasions when a proposal is ignored or rejected. In Extract 8, J rightly questioned the grammaticality of 'During they disappear ...', but her attempts to justify this were apparently ignored by the two men.

Extract 8

J 'during' ... I think 'during' ...

F 'another man ran' ...

J 'during' ...

F 'ran into the shop to see what happened' ...

J I think 'then' ...'when' is better because 'during' always follow ... noun ...

G I think it's better ...

F Yes, but you see ... because..

G What do you think ...

F The car is [?]

J 'When they were disappearing' ...

G What do you think about 'by the time' ...

J I think 'during' always ...

G ... 'the guardian realised about the robbery, they disappeared'

G's suggestion of a completely different structure was eventually adopted.

In the second instance, F seemed to be correcting G's grammar, but he accepted the incorrect form when G insisted.

Extract 9

F a monster sentence! He was afraid.....he realised that if he didn't call the police

G hadn't called the police [his situation could get worse.]

Finally, in Extract 10, F suggested that 'it' in 'So he did it' was unnecessary and, being at the keyboard, deleted it. But G insisted on putting it back, claiming:

Extract 10

F Lost his job. But I think we don't need this 'it' That's not nice.

G No, no. 'He did it'.

F No. You know you don't need this 'it'. You know what you are talking about.

G In English you must write the subject, even the object. 'He did it'. I'm sure

F Mmm?, yes?

G Yeh, I'm sure. 'He did it'.

F 'So he did it'.

3.5 Reasons given (Justification)

There were 35 examples of justification, and 31 cases of no justification for changes made. The following were the main types of justification, with the number of cases in brackets:

1. reference to a rule using metalanguage, (e.g. Extracts 8 and 10) (11 cases)
2. giving a kind of definition of a word, (e.g. Extract 7) (2)
3. giving an example of use, (e.g. Extract 12) (1)
4. vague reference to a rule, (e.g. Extract 11) (8)
5. spelling or punctuation correction, (e.g. Extract 12) (11)
6. Teacher input (2)

Extrac: 11

F 'He saw two men running', just 'running', no 'were'

G No. no. without 'were'

J No 'were'? 'He saw two men' ... Just 'running', why 'run' is ....?

G You don't need the word 'were'

J Why? I think he's ... Oh, yeh, yeh, yes .. 'He saw'

Extract 12

F 'from the building site'.. 'site' with 't'

G 'site' with 't'?

F Camping site, building site

In 11 cases, learners referred to a language rule, if sometimes obscurely (e.g. Extract 10). In 8 cases, the justification seemed to be by reference to 'feel' for language. The 11 cases of spelling/punctuation correction formed a somewhat separate case. There was no clear association between acceptance of a proposal and justification with a rule.

Justification was normally given proactively when challenging another's work, and, in four cases, when making a self-repair. In only six instances did the justification follow a challenge, (e.g. Extract 10).

Some of the justifications were fairly unconvincing or obscure, (e.g. Extract 10), but they were nevertheless accepted (even when wrong, e.g. Extract 13).

Extract 13

G 'to shout', 'shout', 'shout'

F 'to shout'? no '-ed'?

J no '-ed'?

G No? 'shout', 'shout', 'shout'. Or not?

J Dunno

F So, I have to change that?

J Yeh. OK.

3.6 Usefulness of ScreenCam

Much of the foregoing analysis would have been impossible without ScreenCam. The ScreenCam recording revealed that some changes (5) were made without any discussion or comment. These were all relatively minor changes e.g. spelling, and occur mainly in Phase 1. They were presumably made by the originator of the error.

More importantly, ScreenCam allowed us to interpret a number of ambiguous or obscure exchanges in the audio recording, for example, Extract 6, which would be difficult or impossible to interpret without a record of what was happening on the computer screen. In fact, by matching the audio with the ScreenCam recording, we see that F had just typed 'Running into the shop he get there to check what happened' in spite of the fact that he had already written 'and the man ran into the shop, probably to see what happened' in the preceding paragraph. Following the above exchange, he deleted the redundant sentence.

Similarly, the short exchange in Extract 7 is in itself incomprehensible, but comparing it with what happened on the screen, where G's original 'on the car' was changed to 'in the car', it is possible to interpret it as follows:

Extract 7a

F: This should be *'in'* the car not *'on'*.

G: *'in'*?

F: Yeh, *'on'* means *'on top of the car'*.

4. Discussion

Our study demonstrates that in a well-designed collaborative writing activity learners talk spontaneously about language and that the talk and its written product can be captured effectively. In the joint composition phase, which most closely resembles the tasks in other studies, learners in this study produced 21 LREs in 10 minutes compared with Swain & Lapkin (1998) 23 LREs in 23 minutes, and Storch (1998) 45-48 LREs in 45 minutes. However, in the sequencing phase there were 46 LREs in 25 minutes. The greater number of LREs in our study may reflect both the make-up of the students in the group and the nature of the task. In addition, many were quite brief.

Learners were able to identify and correct 50% of errors without teacher intervention, but they failed to correct the other 50%. We can only speculate on the reasons for this failure. They may include time pressure, lack of knowledge (unlikely), distraction, politeness, and lack of commitment. In contrast to the research reported by Storch (1999), overall the resultant text was not more accurate than the individual texts of which in part it was composed, although there was some increase in complexity. On the evidence from this limited study, collaborative writing is not necessarily more accurate than individual writing. Apart from errors which were not corrected, new errors were introduced. Our research records some misinformation about language accepted by the group and incorporated in the text.

The largest number of changes to the text involved discourse – features of cohesion and coherence. Storch (1998:297) found that "Discourse considerations or clues seemed to play a minor role in these grammatical choices, with discourse referred to mainly when students were considering linking ideas". However, her students were engaged in the reconstruction of a text given only the content words, whereas our task involved sequencing.

Most changes were initiated directly with little comment and without challenge. In only seventeen per cent of cases of justification did the author of the text question a proposed change. The lack of challenge to these changes and lack of discussion may be because by this stage in their course the

learners were used to working in groups; they knew each other well; a 'pecking order' had been established to some extent.

In 35 (53%) changes out of 66, learners provided justification for the changes they made to the text. There is no evidence that a proposal that was justified by reference to a rule was more likely to be accepted as all but three proposals were accepted whether justified or not. Excluding corrections to spelling and punctuation, where learners justified their choice in most cases they did so by referring to a rule, with or without appropriate metalanguage. It could be argued that in so doing, these learners demonstrated declarative knowledge (Johnson (1996)). In other cases (23%) they appeared to draw on what Goss (1994) describes as 'feel' for language and what Johnston would include in procedural knowledge.

In the only extended discussions where there appears to be a real attempt to use declarative knowledge to argue, it is tempting to think that a firmer grasp of grammatical rules and of the associated metalanguage might have made the discussion more effective. The implication for teaching would be that more consciousness-raising activities should be introduced into our syllabuses. But more research is required to settle this point.

On the issue of task design, the difficulty of predicting student language use in problem-solving tasks is well known. However, this study demonstrates that task design can to some extent influence the area of talk generated. The task set in this study required individual texts to be sequenced and combined; hence the high proportion of discourse-related LREs. Using a similar approach, it would be possible to design tasks which focus on other areas of language of interest to the researcher, such as tense choice.

ScreenCam in the version we used is an effective if in some ways clumsy instrument for this kind of research. It captures the evolving product and allows the product and the metatalk which accompanies its production to be linked. ScreenCam is Windows-based and relatively simple to use. This gives it a major advantage over the type of logging programme illustrated in Miller (2000) for example. The effect is like watching over the user's shoulder as a text is composed or edited. The recording can be paused and replayed at will. Unfortunately, it is not possible to rewind other than right back to the beginning, and fast forwarding is difficult to control. The recording therefore has to be viewed in real time. This is not only time-consuming but it means that a moment's inattention can mean missing a vital change. In this respect, a logging programme has the advantage. On the other hand, ScreenCam captures information which logging cannot, e.g. movements of the cursor. But other useful visual information, e.g. pointing with the finger at the text on the screen, is not available in either.

Matching ScreenCam with an independent audio recording was not easy, but a simultaneous audio recording would considerably facilitate this task. The addition of a timer to ScreenCam would also be very useful.

In contrast. a video-recording onto tape using the monitor signal permits all the playback controls of a VCR. However, there are disadvantages. There is an additional item of equipment involved and where several groups are working at the same time this poses obvious resource and space problems. In addition, the images are not available in digital form. Analysing the data using different media is clumsy. For example, a printout of the screen cannot be made. For these reasons, ScreenCam is preferable.

The same approach, combining data from audio-recording and ScreenCam, could be used to investigate issues of interlanguage and as a means of providing data for research into features such as 'negotiation of form' (Lyster & Ranta (1997)) and 'noticing', which some consider critical to second language acquisition.

Questions relating to collaborative writing which could be explored using this technique would include:

- Does group writing produce more accurate writing than individual writing?
- Is there any correlation between the amount of metatalk generated by a task and the grammatical accuracy of its product?
- Does group writing prevent individual creativity? (There are traces of ghost texts which individuals would have written.)
- What proportion of individual writing survives in a collaboratively written text?
- Is the finger on the keyboard the most powerful influence in the group - do scribes rule or is the scribe treated as secretary?
- Does proficiency in language correlate with proficiency in writing?
- Are learners good teachers? Is there evidence of scaffolding in such tasks?
- To what extent are sociocultural and gender factors an issue in collaborative writing?

5. Conclusions

We acknowledge that any conclusions drawn are based on a very small sample of data. The study is being repeated with a larger sample.

This study provides evidence that Lotus ScreenCam can be a useful tool in the study of the writing process. Using our approach, insights can be gained into the reasons learners give for the changes and choices they make in a collaborative writing task using wordprocessing. Our study also demonstrates how a well-designed writing task can generate a considerable amount of discussion of language. In so doing, it makes a contribution to the questions posed by Chapelle (1997): What kind of language does the learner engage in during a CALL activity? How good is the language experience in CALL for L2 learning? In our case much of the language was about language itself and, if the advocates of the output hypothesis are correct, this type of activity should be a rich source of language learning. Future research with appropriate follow-up may help answer this question.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank John McEwan, IALS Computing Officer, for his technical support and Dr Tony Lynch for test score equivalents.

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Appendix 1

Time	LRE	Original text	Tapescript	Edited text	Change
4.55	1	two men ran away front of him	G I use the [?] present continuous because I'm describing the scene, the scene of a crime J Yes G and you? J No G You can change	ran → were runing	1 Gr
6.00	2		F 'He threw a stong to break a window'? A stong? J I don't find the other word. Do you		

Time	LRE	Original text	Tapescript	Edited text	Change
			know? F 'He threw a stone'. It's a stone. It's not a 'g', you mean? J OK G It's a brick. You use a brick to build a .. It's not exactly a stone. You use a brick to build a palace, building F Yes, the red ones		
8.05	3	Runing away front of him	F? This is not 'in front of him'. 'Two men were running away in front of him'. J In front? OK	runing away in front of him	2 Voc
12.10	4		F Is the object is jewellery so the shop is jeweller's G In this picture shows this thing. I can change.		
13.20	5	Next to him there were	G A lot of bricks, a group of bricks, a lot of bricks? F A lot of bricks G A lot	Next to him there were a lot of bricks.	3 Voc
13.50	6	in front of a jewellers.	G Jewellery. J Spelling F I'm not sure whether.. G [after Spellcheck] Yeh, jewellery	jewellers → jewellery	4 Voc
	7	Next to him there were a lot of bricks	F Is this the end of the sentence, 'a lot of bricks'? J OK	Next to him there were a lot of bricks.	5 Punct
14.30	8	another man run following them	J Change it. Because the past, r..a..n, yes	run → ran	6 Gr
		in front of him and one of them		in front of him by th car and one of them	7 Content
		His is not involved		Hi is not involved	8 Spell

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Time	LRE	Original text	Tapescript	Edited text	Change
		in front of him by the car		in front of him by a open-door car	9 Content

Appendix 2

G's original text

1. There were two men, wearing a mask, | who probably had the intention to commite a crime. |
2. They were on their car | and one of them was putting down a brick in front of a jewellers. |
3. Finally, there was another man, at the entrance of a building in front of the jewellers, |who was waiting for something.|
4. Next to him there were a lot of bricks.|

No. of words =65 No. of sentences = 4 No. of clauses = 7

No. of errors = 6 Error-free clauses = 2 (29%) Errors/words = 9/100

G's final text

1. There were two men, wearing a mask, | who probably had the intention to commite a crime. |
2. They were in their car | and one of them took a brick from the building site in front of the jewellery. |
3. There was ^ guardian, at the entrance of a building opposite to the jewellery, | who felt asleep instead of looking after the place. |
4. Next to him there were a lot of bricks. |

No. of words = 68 No. of sentences = 4 No. of clauses = 7

No. of errors = 9 Error-free clauses = 2 (29%) Errors/words = 13/100

Corrected errors = 2 Uncorrected errors = 4 New errors = 5

Correction rate = 33%

J's original text

1. One night, a janitor was woken up by some strange sounds. |
2. He went out of the door, | suddenly, he saw two men were running away front of him | and one of them threw a stong to break a window of a shop. |
3. Then they went into the shop from the broken window. |
4. Just then, another man run following them | and shouted: | "stop them!" |

No. of words = 63 No. of sentences = 4 No. of clauses = 8

No. of errors = 9 Error-free clauses = 1 (12%) Errors/words = 14/100

J's final text

1. A few minutes later, the guardian was woken up by some strange sounds. |
2. He went out of the door, | suddenly, he saw two men running in front of him by an open-door car | and one of them threw a brick to break a window of a shop. |
3. Then they went into the shop through the broken window. |
4. Just then, another man ran following them | and shout : | "Stop them!" |

No. of words = 68 No. of sentences = 4 No. of clauses = 8

Corrected errors = 6 Uncorrected errors = 3 New errors = 4

No. of errors = 7 Error-free clauses = 2 (25%) Errors/words = 10/100

Correction rate = 67%

F's original text

1. Two men are leaving a jewellery. |
2. They are coming out thru a broken window, wearing bags and moving to a car. |
3. A rubbery! |
4. During they dissapear with the car, | another man walks into the shop, probably to see | what ^ happend.|
5. His is not involved | but also not realy interested to catch the criminals. |

No. of words = 54 No. of sentences = 5 No. of clauses = 8

No. of errors = 11 Error-free clauses = 1 (12%) Errors/words = 20/100

F's final text

1. Thieves left the place after rubbing the jewellery. |
2. They were coming out through the broken window, wearing bags and moving to their car. |
3. Defenitely a rubbery! |
4. By the time the guardian realised they robbed the jewellery, | the thieves drove off, | and the man ran into the shop, probably to see | what ^ happend. |

No. of words = 52 No. of sentences = 4 No. of clauses = 7

Corrected errors = 6 Uncorrected errors = 5 New errors = 8

No. of errors = 13 Error-free clauses = 0 (0%) Errors/words = 25/100

Correction rate = 55%

Joint text

1. He was afraid to the consequences, | because of that he didn't call the police immediatly | but he realized that, | if he hadn't called the police, | his situation could get worse. |
2. So he did it | but as a result he lost his job ...

No. of words = 42	No. of sentences = 2	No. of clauses = 7
No. of errors = 4	Error-free clauses = 3 (43%)	Errors/words = 9/10

STRATEGY AND STYLE IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH TRANSLATIONS OF JAPANESE COMIC BOOKS.

Peter Howell (TAAL)

Abstract

This article explores translation strategies in English and French versions of Japanese comic books, and compares the English and French dialogue text with regard to local colour, atmospherics and characterization. English translations are found to be strongly naturalizing, whereas a variety of strategies, including neutralization and intermediate translation via English, can be identified in the French versions.

1. Japanese Comic Books

Narratives combining verbal and visual texts are an important part of contemporary culture. A particular feature of Japanese popular culture is the ubiquity and importance of the comic-book (*manga*) medium. Kinsella (2000:41) reports that comic books are read by all sections of the population in Japan and in 1997 made up 38% of all published titles. She also points out that in recent years the prolific comic book industry has tended to receive more official approval from institutions regulating culture in Japan such as universities and cultural agencies, and an increasing number of Japanese comic books are being translated into Asian and European languages. Despite some notoriety in Europe and America, partly caused by the fact that fewer examples of girls' and women's comics are translated, it is far from certain that Japanese comics focus more on sex and violence than comparable Western media such as television. *Manga* are also used for educational purposes: translated into English in parallel text form, they are used as a material for foreign language learning, both English by Japanese learners, and Japanese by English-speaking learners. Since comic books represent a significant part of the expressive texts translated between Japanese and English, and may moreover be used in language and cultural education, it is relevant for those who help mediate between the cultures (e.g. language teachers and translators) to find out about the strategies and procedures of translation that occur.

From a semiotic point of view, comic books combine visual and verbal codes in a spatially-juxtaposed narrative sequence, whereas narrative in the related medium of film is temporally sequenced (McCloud 1993). Although both codes combine to create the meaning of these types of multi-channel narratives, it is sometimes argued that the verbal code is subordinate to the visual in terms of defining the medium (Groensteen 1999). Kaindl (1999:273-4) lists the linguistic signs used in comics: titles, dialogue texts, narrations, inscriptions, and onomatopoeia. However, Rommens (2000) is not alone in pointing out the relative absence of narrations in *manga*, and although onomatopoeic effects are on the contrary ubiquitous, I will focus on speech as represented within balloons.

2. Translation Strategies

In Schreiber's outline of different methods of translating, one of the contrasts drawn is between "verfremdende" and "einbürgende Übersetzung" (foreignizing and naturalizing translation) (Schreiber 1993:73-76). Schreiber explains that the difference is that in making a foreignizing translation the translator believes the reader expects it to read like a translation, whereas the reader expects a naturalizing translation to read like an original. A further distinction is then drawn by Schreiber between "sprachliche vs. kulturelle Verfremdung/Einbürgerung" (linguistic vs. cultural foreignization /naturalization). Linguistic foreignization/naturalization has to do with the degree to which the translation conforms to stylistic and idiomatic norms of the target language, while cultural

foreignization/naturalization is concerned with translation of culture-specific aspects of the source-text. He points out that in practice a combination such as linguistic naturalization and cultural foreignization may be common.

Naturalizing methods of translation into English, which tend to render the work of the translator invisible, have been viewed unfavourably in some recent discussions of translation (Venuti 1995). But invisibility is a goal explicitly stated by Toren Smith, the head of Studio Proteus, one of the two main *manga* translation companies in America. In relating the story of the translation of Miyazaki Hayao's *Nausicaä of the Valley of Wind*, he writes:

> ...we wanted our work to be totally invisible to the readers. We hoped that, when we were done, the English-language readers would never notice the translation, the sound effects or the lettering—they would simply read and enjoy this incredible story without ever thinking about the fact that it was translated from another language (Smith 1995).

The American *manga* publisher Viz sometimes produces the English dialogue in two separate stages: first a literal translation is made of the Japanese text, and then a specialist in scriptwriting adapts the dialogue to make it read more like an American comic. It is thus a process designed to be linguistically naturalizing.

The two-stage process can also be found amongst the *manga* released by French publishers. An example is the French version of Fujisawa Tōru's *GTO, Great Teacher Onizuka*, the story of an urban punk who becomes a high-school teacher. Linguistically, the adaptor François Jacques naturalizes Matsushima Ayumi's initial translation by writing dialogue incorporating French youth slang. However, culturally, the dialogue is foreignizing in that a number of culture-specific words are conserved in the speech balloons and explained in notes.

It is possible to identify two other general strategies of translation from a reading of French *manga* in comparison with American versions and Japanese originals. Some French translations show a linguistic neutralization, in which features of language variety in the Japanese dialogue are omitted or standardized in the target-text. This results in a destylization of the dialogue. Other French versions are based primarily on the English translation rather than the original Japanese dialogue, and may also transfer English sound effects and inscriptions (for example the language used in signs). This results in a comic with imagery from Japan, English sound effects and sometimes heavily anglicized French dialogue.

In considering the stylistic effects of these different translation strategies, it is difficult to perceive any effect on the sequential plot-advancing functions of the dialogue. These remain largely invariant in translation. However, the type of strategy chosen has stylistic relevance for other functions of the dialogue such as local colour and character identity, character roles and relations, and atmospherics.

3. Local Colour and Character Locus: the Translation of Culture-Specific Items (CSIs)

Culture-specific references are generally considered to include "local institutions, streets, historical figures, place names, personal names, periodicals, works of art, etc." (Aixelá 1996:57). Lists of cultural references are useful, but Aixelá points out that they are static and might suggest that CSIs are permanent rather than related to the dynamics of the target language-culture. His definition is more fluid, allowing more scope for shifting intertextualities, describing CSIs as:

> Those textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the nonexistence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text (ibid.:58).

He categorizes procedures for translating CSIs into two broad headings: conservation, which includes procedures such as transfer, calquing and glossing; and substitution, which includes procedures such as universalization, deletion, and cultural naturalization.

With regard to names, although they are usually transferred into English in the case of works of 'mainstream' literature, in children's literature publishers sometimes request that character names should be changed to target-culture names (Crampton 1990). Such name substitution also occurs in *manga* translation. One example is the English version of Kishiro Yukito's cyberpunk comic *Gunnm*. The adaptor Fred Burke reportedly perceived artistically undesirable connotations in some of the original names when transferred into English (anonymous website author 2001). Thus *Gunnm*'s heroine is renamed *Alita* from *Gally* (and the comic retitled *Battle Angel Alita*), while her love-interest *Yugo* is changed to *Hugo* because the former was the name of a "cheap and tiny compact car" and thus unsuitable for a romantic role. Burke also argued that the name *Zalem* had undesirable associations with witch hunts in America and changed the name of the story's city in the sky to *Tiphares*.By contrast, the French version, although it has clearly used the English as one of its source texts, retains the original Japanese names: *Gally, Yugo* and *Zalem*.

In the girls' comic *Sailor Moon*, while the class nerd is still called by his Japanese name *Umino* in the French version, in the American edition he becomes *Melvin*, just as the heroine *Tsukino Usagi* becomes *Serena*. The same American publisher, Mixx Entertainment, also changes the names in other girls' comics such as Clamp's *Magic Knight Rayearth*. Mixx also naturalizes speech by teenage-girl characters, substituting possible American equivalents for CSIs and autonomously inserting items referring to American culture, even where there is no CSI in the Japanese. Thus in *Magic Knight Rayearth*, a reference to the Tsujiki fish market in Tokyo is conserved in the French translation, but substituted in the English:

> Japanese (J) Volume 1/Page 32:
> Sore izen ni anna ōki na sakana itara tsukiji no uoichiba ni hairanai desho?!
> Gloss: Before that such big fish if-is Tsukiji fish market into not enter *[copula-presumptive]*
> English (E) Volume 1/Page 32:
> Besides, this thing's way too big to fit in **Safeway's seafood section**!
> French (F): Volume 1/Page 38:
> Avant de parler des ailes...s'il y avait un si gros poisson, il ne rentrerait pas dans le marché des poissons de Tsukiji!

And in the English version of Sailor Moon#1, the line *I wanna eat Pringles* is inserted beside a speech balloon, where there is no corresponding line in either the French or the Japanese original. Another autonomous insertion occurs, for example, in a reference to Arnold Schwarzenegger:

> J 1/9: Konogoro wa gōtō no hoka ni mo hen na jiken ga zokushutsu shitemasu kara ne. Nyūsu mo yō chekku desu yo!
> Gloss:these days *[topic particle]* burglary *[case particle]* other too strange incident [case particle] appear in succession because *[sentence-final particle]*. News too necessary check *[copula] [sentence-final particle]*
> E 1/9: With all the bizarre and hideous crimes nowadays, the news is **more action-packed than a Schwarzenegger movie.**
> F 1/9: De drôles d'incidents se produisent en ce moment, il faut s'informer!

In the sample of comics analyzed here, French publishers are also less reluctant than their American counterparts to use the procedure of transferring Japanese linguistic items into the target text. In the French version of *Oh My Goddess!* the Japanese word *senbei* is transferred , whereas in Dark Horse's American edition *senbeis* (rice crackers, which are not shown visually in the frame) can be easily naturalized to *chips*. Similarly, in *Magic Knight Rayearth*, a Japanese-specific term stereotyping a certain social category of young women – *ojōsama* – is simply transferred in the French comic, but explicated in the American as *rich girls from snobby families*.

4. Local Colour and Character Locus: the Translation of Non-Standard Dialect and Foreigner Talk

Three procedures can be identified in the translation of non-standard geographical dialect. These are:

(i) standardization by use of standard language in the target text;
(ii) substitution by elements from an 'equivalent' target-culture dialect;
(iii) substitution by elements from spoken style in the target culture.

In some works of verbal art the use of dialect may be essential to understanding the plot, as in *Pygmalion/My Fair Lady*, and recourse cannot be had to standard language (Herbst 1994). Even if the use of dialect is not related to plot, standardization will result in an expressively impoverished target-culture text with regard to local colour and character identity. However, Herbst's view is that the option of substituting a target-culture dialect should not be used in the medium of film, except for comic effects, because dialect is associated with a geographical location and this disrupts the illusion on which film is thought to depend. Similarly, Hervey and Higgins claim, "having broad Norfolk on the lips of peasants from the Auvergne could have disastrous effects on the plausibility of the whole [target text]" (Hervey and Higgins 1992:118). Instead, says Herbst, a kind of indirect equivalence is usually aimed at in German dubbing, whereby language variety with geographical associations in the source-culture text is replaced in the target-culture text by dialogue which is standard, but marked phonetically and lexicogrammatically for spoken style (op.cit.:108-9), and still conveys qualities of the interaction such as social intimacy, directness and emotionality; although the possibility is alluded to that stereotypical associations will be replaced by new specifically-individual meanings.

In the English version of Takahashi's *Inuyasha* published by Viz, medieval Japanese peasants who speak represented dialect in the original, are made to speak in the kind of represented archaic rural English that Hervey and Higgins warned about, in lines such as:

> E 1/29-30:Be you a stranger?
> She's come spyin' I wager!
> Then another battle's a'brewing?

Inuyasha has yet to be translated into French, but Viz's version contrasts with the more neutralizing fan-translation made available on the internet by Chris Rijk and Igarashi Akira:

> Are you from a foreign province?
> Could she be a spy?
> Could be war again.

In *Neon Genesis Evangelion* (henceforth *Evangelion*), Suzuhara Tōji is an aggressive 14-year old boy who speaks Kansai dialect. In the transfer into French, and into English subtitles and dubbing, his lines are rendered in a socially-marked spoken style; but in the Viz comic book, he is made to speak a stereotypical version of Brooklynese in lines such as:

> E 2/20-2: It ain't da goin' dere I mind..but supposin' she ends up with some scar --? She'll never be a babe!
> and,
> It ain't none of yer concern! Shaddap!

as compared to the less stylized French version:

> F 2/22-23: Je me fiche de ce qui peut m'arriver...mais ma petite soeur, c'est pas pareil...ça serait horrible s'il lui restait des cicatrices sur le visage...
> La ferme! Occupe-toi de tes oignons!

This use of a substitutionary dialect may or may not strike readers as implausible, depending on the conventions of the reading community they belong to. But it is a not uncommon expressive device in the transfer of Japanese popular texts into English.

Apart from dialects, other features of language variety that have to be dealt with in the translation of comic books are elements of foreign languages and other foreigner-talk. In *Evangelion*, Asuka is a 14-year-old girl of mixed Japanese-German parentage and so she sometimes uses German words. It is an important part of her characterization. However, in the French comics the German she uses in the Japanese original is sometimes rendered by French (e.g. Scheisse > merde) and thus expressively neutralized, while in the Viz version it is maintained. Similarly, minor Chinese characters in Takahashi's *Ranma 1/2* are made to speak in stereotyped foreigner-talk in the Viz version, but their original 'broken' Japanese is neutralized in the French version published by Glénat, as in these lines from two consecutive speech balloons:

E 1/42: You very strange one, no, sir?
F 1/44: Vous êtes sûrs de vous

E 1/42: This place very dangerous. Nobody use now.
F 1/44: Ce site n'est pas vraiment ordinaire...

In the French version of Tsuruta Kenji's *The Spirit of Wonder*, the translator neutralizes the exoticizing use of the English phrase "Ladies and Gentlemen!" (*Redīsu ando jenterumenu!*) by the eccentric English inventor Dr. Breckenridge by translating it into French, whereas in the American version, although this particular line is inevitably destylized, it is compensated for elsewhere by the use of stereotypical archaic Britishisms (e.g. *By Jove!*).

5. The Translation of Register

Unlike *dialect*, which is a feature of the language *user*, Halliday uses the term *register* to characterize situations of language *use*. Register is "the configuration of semantic resources that the member of a culture typically associates with a situation type" (Halliday cited in Marco 2000:1). However, the context of situation in expressive texts such as comic books is double-layered. Comic-book dialogue is not 'real' dialogue in the sense of belonging to what Bakhtin called primary (simple) speech genres. Rather it is 'represented' dialogue and can be said to be part of secondary (complex) speech genres (Bakhtin 1986). Unlike in primary speech genres, dialogue in secondary speech genres has a dual addressee: the characters being addressed in the film, comic etc., and the audience or readership; and it has a variety of narrative functions springing from this double universe of discourse: e.g. advancing the storyline, helping create clear characters, contributing to atmospherics and local colour. Studies on literary language have suggested that secondary and expressive speech genres enjoy a certain degree of *sovereign* freedom from any immediate social environment determining linguistic expression, and must therefore integrate "social meanings made outside the literary universe of discourse into the text" (Downes 1994: 3510). This view of register in expressive works had been pioneered by Jean Ure and her colleagues in an article on the application of Hallidayan theory to literary translation:

> Register choice correlates with the immediate situation of utterance of the text, but when it comes to works of imaginative literature we have a special case, since what the author is doing is to *create* a further situation; this he does by choosing a register suitable to the imagined situation he is creating. (Ure, Rodger and Ellis 1969:8)

The most salient variable of register in terms of the translation of comic-book dialogue is that which is used to create interpersonal meanings of role and relationship. It has been argued that certain aspects of tenor in Japanese, for example politeness (Matsumoto 1988), are fundamentally different from what is found in languages such as English and French, and it is certainly true that Japanese lexicogrammatical resources for realizing interpersonal meaning are very different (for example in the systems of address and self-reference, and in the conversational use of sentence-final particles).

Naturalizing translation procedures which make use of 'equivalent' lexicogrammatical resources in American English tend to make the characters sound like American comic-book characters.

6. Character Role: the Soldier, the Schoolgirl, the Vamp.

Comic-book characters, as the figurative use of the phrase implies, are often heavily stereotypical, especially in the case of supporting characters. Translators into English rely on a rich tradition of expressive conventions to re-create lexicogrammatically dimensions of tenor in English that will make the characters sound like American stereotypes. The most important lexicogrammatical device is the use of non-standard lexis in the major clause, but address forms, and the exclamatory use of secondary interjections and interjectional phrases – adopting Ameka's (1992) categorization of interjections - also play an important role.

In Japanese the rough masculinity of soldiers, for example in the works of Shirow Masamune, may be conveyed by masculine sentence-final particles (e.g. *ze*) and the graphological representation of non-standard masculine pronunciation (*nē* instead of *nai*), as in the following line from *Ghost in the Shell*:

J 113: Omoshiroku nē ze.
interesting/fun is-not *[sentence-final particle]*.

In English, this masculine tenor is realized by a combination of secondary interjection and non-standard lexis. The French translator, using the English as a source text, also uses a secondary interjection:

E 115: **Man**, am I **pissed**...
F 111: Putain, j' suis énervé.

In the following example, the rough masculine first-person pronoun *ore* and the exclamatory end-particle *na* are translated into English by a stereotypical imperative + vocative, which is then translated word-for-word in the French version:

J 112: Ore mo wakai goro wa iroiro yatta kedo na [...]
I too young time *[topic particle]* various things did but *[sentence-final particle]*
E 114: **Listen, kid** – I did all kinds of stuff when I was your age, [...]
F 110: Écoute gamin! J'ai fait pas mal de conneries à ton âge, [...]

A procedure of lexical vulgarization may be used to enhance characterization even when there are no markers of rough language in the Japanese, e.g.

J 31: Togusa. Kinkyū dasshutsu.
Togusa *(name)* emergency escape
E 35: Togusa! Get your **ass** out of there!
F 31: Togusa! Casse-toi en vitesse!

In the case of the teenage schoolgirls in *Magic Knight Rayearth*, similar procedures of lexical stylization and exclamation are used to reproduce the tenor suggested by the Japanese end-particles *na* and *ne*, whereas the corresponding French lines are register-neutral e.g.:

J 1/11: ...ureshi na. Na!
happy *[sentence-final particle] [sentence-final particle]*
E 1/11: [...] **I'm psyched!**
F 1/17: Je suis contente [...]

J 1/15: Kirei na ko ne.
pretty girl *[sentence-final particle]*

E 1/15: **God**, she's gorgeous!
F 1/21: Elle est très belle.

Non-standard spelling is also a common method of indicating informal tenor relationships in American comic-books, e.g.

J 1/10: Hikaru mo sō omou desho
Hikaru *(name)* also so thinks *[copula-presumptive]*
E 1/10: **Whadda** you think, Hikaru?
F 1/16: Tu ne trouves pas Hikaru?

Address (terms of endearment) and suggested taboo lexis are also used in English to help create a tenor of sexual aggression in the vampish character of Urd in *Oh My Goddess!*, while the French translator also makes use of nonstandard orthography.

J 2/111: Hazukashiku nai hazukashiku nai
not shy not shy
E 1/[no page numbers]: Come on, **hon**...don't be shy!
F 2/111: Ne sois pas timide!

J 2/112: Ā mō!!
ah enough already
E 1/[no page numbers]: Oh, **for *#**!!
F 2/112: Y m'énerve!!

7. Atmospherics: jargonization

In sci-fi comics the English translators sometimes use military and medical jargon, words characteristic of technical discourses, in lines where the original Japanese is register-neutral. The French translations are less jargonized, except where they sometimes borrow jargon from an English source text. We can find examples of this in *Evangelion*:

J 1/153: Jōhō sōsa no hō wa dō natteru?
information manipulation *[case particle]* side of things *[topic particle]* how is-becoming
E 1/151: Now, how is the **intel op** progressing?
F 1/151: Les informations seront-elles bien manipulées?

J 1/160: Kurai... ...kurasugiru.
gloomy... ...too gloomy
E 1/158: So gloomy... ...like some kind of **mood disorder**.
F 1/158: Sombre... ...trop sombre.

J 3/79: Nōha ijō
brainwaves abnormal
E 3/75: **EEG** abnormal!
F 3/77: Anomalie dans les ondes cérébrales!

J 3/82: Shinzō massāji o...
heart massage *[case particle]*
E 3/78: Commence **CPR**!
F: 3/80: Faites un massage cardiaque!

Further examples of the use of jargon in the English translations can be found in *Ghost in the Shell*. In the French version, the translator has chosen a non-jargonized translation in the first example, but has followed the English jargon in the second example by borrowing the English lexis.

J 15: Jōkyō wa
situation *[topic particle]*
E 19: What's the **sitrep**?
F 1/15: Comment ça se présente?

J 31: Tsūshin o kōseibōheki mōdo ni kirikaeru
communications attack barrier mode to switch
E 35: Switch **com-links** to attack barrier mode
F 1/31: Switchez vos com-links en mode offensif

8. Conclusion

Comparative reading of this sample of comics reveals that the translators of the American versions used naturalizing strategies, both culturally (name changes, and insertion of references to American culture) and linguistically (stereotypical use of dialects, and use of heavily marked register). The strategies used in the French versions are less naturalizing than those adopted in their American counterparts. Culturally, they are more foreignizing in conserving names and culture-specific items. Linguistically, in some translations, transfers and calques from the English version are used, with the result that the dialogue reads like a translation, but not a translation from the Japanese original. Other French translations reveal linguistic neutralization with regard to dialect and register. This results in a destylization which reduces the expressive impact of the original dialogue.

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THE VALUE OF AN ADDITIONAL NATIVE SPEAKER IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

Tony Lynch and Kenneth Anderson (IALS)

Abstract

Learners of English in Britain soon realise that the language they hear in the classroom is different from native speech outside. Previous participants on the IALS summer pre-sessional English for Academic Purposes (EAP) programme had asked for more opportunities to talk with native speakers, in order to practise their oral communication skills. With that in mind, we took on a non-teacher course assistant in 1996, who would take part in Speaking classes and also chat with students in breaks. In this paper we report the findings of a study of student/teacher and student/assistant talk, based on recordings made in one type of Speaking lesson, which suggests that - even in class - interaction with the assistant gave the students the opportunity for different sorts of talk than with the teacher. We also discuss the students' perceptions of the assistant's role, and summarise the ways in which we have now extended that role in the pre-sessional programme.

1. Origins

There were two points of origin for the study we describe in this paper. The first was the suggestion from past pre-sessional students that we should increase their opportunities to talk to native speakers (NSs), by bringing in someone other than a teacher, someone 'normal' or 'ordinary', as they put it. The second was a visit that Tony Lynch made to the University of British Columbia. One of the EAP classes he observed there featured a 'cultural assistant'- a Canadian undergraduate who participated as a member of the class and acted as a second NS informant. The idea of doing what we subsequently did, that is, taking on a course assistant with both a classroom and a non-classroom role, was inspired by the example at UBC.

2. Theoretical background

One can relate the potential benefits of interaction with an NS to three of the main hypotheses about language learning: Comprehensible Input (associated with Krashen 1981), Negotiated Interaction (associated with Hatch 1978 and Long 1983, among others) and Comprehensible Output (Swain 1985, 1995). It is reasonable to argue that what a learner gains from additional conversation practice with an NS is the chance to:

hear and get used to more informal spoken English than in class (input)

ask questions to clarify language and ideas in what a speaker is saying and to practise skills of turn-taking (interaction)

express themselves in English, to stretch their interlanguage when they are not understood and to get feedback (output)

A central issue in language teaching, particularly in classrooms encouraging student-to-student interaction, is whether such interaction assists language development as effectively as student-to-teacher talk. Pica and colleagues have investigated both advanced EFL classes (Garcia Mayo and Pica, 2000) and low-intermediate EFL classes (Pica, Lincoln-Porter, Paninos and Linnell 1996), and

conclude that student-student interaction features similar but more limited opportunities for input, interaction and output than would be available with an NS.

In addition, Swain has said that the three functions she has identified for output (noticing, hypothesis testing, and metalinguistic reflection) are more likely to arise in some types of task than others (Swain 1995). For example, when learners are asked to discuss their versions of an input text, as they do in dictogloss, they may be encouraged to talk about details of language form in a relatively natural way (Swain and Lapkin, 2001). Lynch (2001) has drawn similar conclusions from a study of learners of English engaged in transcribing and correcting their own speech.

There is, however, general agreement that, although student-student interaction helps, it is impoverished (compared with NS talk), except at the most advanced level:

> The finding that learners are a somewhat limited source of modified input warrants some caution toward teachers' confidence in (learner-learner group work). It speaks well, however, for classrooms that are heterogeneous in their distribution of learner and NS interlocutors.
>
> (Pica, Lincoln-Porter, Paninos and Linnell 1996: 80)

The authors do not say what they mean by 'heterogeneous' classrooms, but our study looked at one possible version, a class involving two NSs – teacher and course assistant.

3. The setting for the study

IALS runs a pre-sessional EAP programme from July to September, preparing mainly postgraduate students for entry into British universities in October. The full programme lasts 13 weeks and comprises four courses – three of three weeks (60 classroom hours) and one of four weeks (75 hours). In recent years most of the students taking our EAP pre-sessional programme have been East Asians, who tend to be less proficient in listening to and speaking English than in reading and writing it, so a main aim of the EAP programme is to bring their competence in the spoken medium into line with their written-medium skills. One of the speaking skill components in the first six weeks of the Programme is a series of 'scenarios' (Lynch and Anderson 1992), in which students need to persuade someone to accept their point of view. Scenarios proceed in five stages:

1 Half-class groups (A, B) read role-cards and prepare their performance.

2 One pair (A+B) play the scenario 'in public', with others watching.

3 The two players return to their group for debriefing.

4 Second A+B pair play a public scenario.

5 Debriefing by the class, led by the teacher.

4. The course assistant

The course assistant (CA) featured in the study worked with us for four summers, during the period when she was studying for a modern languages degree. In the first summer (1996) she contributed to speaking skills work in three ways: she participated in scenario lessons; she talked to the students during a weekly review; and she was available as a conversation partner during the mid-morning break.

5. The classroom study

5.1 Focus

We were interested in the possible effects on classroom interaction of bringing in a non-teacher, and in particular the assumption underlying the original students' suggestion, that a 'normal' NS offers a different type of communicative experience than a teacher does. In assessing the CA's contribution, we have concentrated on the *Scenario* classes, since that allows a direct comparison of interaction with teacher and non-teacher on the same topic and task.

5.2 Expectations

We expected there would be a greater focus on language in student-teacher talk than in student-CA talk, because the students might regard the CA as having less authority in that area. We also assumed that there would be more negotiation of meaning – especially more requests for clarification – in interaction with the CA, since (1) she had less experience of NS/NNS interaction than the teachers and would understand the students less well; and (2) the students would be less used to her Scottish accent than that of the teachers, who were both from southern England.

5.3 Participants

There were 18 students in two classes: a lower-level class (approximately 4.5-5.5 IELTS) taught by 'Gail', and a higher-level class (5.5+ IELTS) taught by 'Dennis'. Gail and Dennis were similar in age (in their fifties), classroom experience and academic background (PhDs in applied linguistics), as well as in origin and accent.

5.4 Data

Parallel recordings were made over a period of six weeks, during Stage 1 of nine Scenario lessons, when half-class groups were working with either the teacher or the CA. The recordings were transcribed and analysed into *topical episodes*, (sequences of speaking turns on the same topic). We adopted the categories of *literal* and *non-literal* frame, derived from Goffman (1974) and featured in Hancock's study of role-play interaction (Hancock 1997). Speakers are regarded as speaking in literal frame when they are being themselves, and in a non-literal frame when they are playing a role in a classroom activity.

We set up a provisional set of categories on the basis of the initial analysis of transcripts reported in Lynch (1998). We coded the Stage 1 transcripts separately and then met to compare our categorization, reaching agreement in the cases where we had assigned an episode to a different category; cases of disagreement were relatively rare. The final set of categories is shown below, with two examples of each category (taken from the transcript of a *Bank* scenario):

Non-literal frame

General procedure

1. *Is this one going to be filmed?*
2. *One out the group has to go up to practise*

Task management

1. *Could you join this group?*
2. *Do you think you're now ready?*

Input text: Content

1. *This student has cashpoint card?*
2. *Ok the spelling + the spelling is different*

Input text: Language

1. *"Distrust" is opposite of "trust"?*
2. (pointing to the word "withdrawal" in the text) *This one?*

Output: strategy

1. *So maybe we could try to think of a reason*
2. *Maybe they will ask + + + to have identification*

Output: language

1. *Yes this now situation is bad + I mean first how can I say? + + + 'I have some problem'*
2. *Yeah but we don't normally say 'What is your identity'*

Literal frame

On-task

1. *Yeah + some days ago + I went to my bank*
2. *How about your country... this situation ?*

Off-task

1. *What means "cabaret"?*
2. *Oh I'm sleepy* (laughs)

5.5 Findings

Analysis of the episodes suggests that in Stage 1 the students' interaction with the CA was more like that with Gail than with Dennis in overall quantitative terms. *Mean* refers to the mean number of episodes per scenario, and *Share* is the proportion of episodes initiated by students or NS.

Table 1. Initiation of topical episodes

	Total	Mean	Share
Ss	115	12.8	56.2%
CA	90	10.0	43.8%
Ss	48	9.6	59.3%
Gail	33	6.6	40.7%
Ss	58	14.5	73.5%
Dennis	21	5.25	26.5%
	365		

The topical episodes involving the CA tended to be shorter (205 episodes in the nine CA recordings, compared with 160 in the nine Teacher recordings). The CA was also more like Gail in terms of her share in initiating episodes - approximately four out of every ten episodes; Dennis initiated only one in four episodes.

We had expected language-focused talk to be more frequent in interaction with the teachers than the CA, but that turned out not to be the case.

Table 2. Initiation of language-focused episodes

	Input (text)	Output	Total	NS Share
Ss	11	8	19	
CA	8	3	11	36.6%
Ss	3	11	14	
Gail	0	5	5	26.3%
Ss	3	3	6	
Dennis	3	0	3	33.3%

'Input' episodes were those in which the discussion focused on the role card texts, while 'Output' episodes were about the language to be used by the players in Stage 2. The lower number of language-focused episodes with Dennis could reflect the higher proficiency level of his class, although the difference between the two classes was relatively small. The overall totals for this type of talk with the CA and the teachers are very similar: 30 language-focused episodes with the CA and 28 with the two teachers.

However, when we consider who *initiated* those episodes, we find that the CA initiated relatively more talk about language (36.6%) than Dennis (33.3%) and, particularly, Gail (26.3%). The CA's initiations were primarily comprehension checks about information on the role card. On the other hand, the language-oriented episodes initiated by students were predominantly clarification requests or suggestions.

A substantial amount of the time in Stage 1 – 137 out of 365 episodes – was devoted to discussing how to approach the task. Here the CA was more proactive than the two teachers in initiating strategic episodes, as indicated in Table 3.

Table 3. Initiation of strategy-focused episodes

	Total	Share
Ss	47	63.6%
CA	27	36.4%
Ss	23	82.1%
Gail	5	17.8%
Ss	28	80.0%
Dennis	7	20.0%
	137	

There we can see that the CA took the lead more often in encouraging the students to discuss what strategy to adopt at Stage 2. In Table 1 we saw that interaction with the CA featured more and shorter episodes. It may be that she saw it as her responsibility to ensure that her groups completed the Stage 1 planning satisfactorily, and so she tended to 'chivvy' them through their discussion. It could also be that she was less used to allowing the thinking time that L2 learners may need in this sort of activity. The teachers seemed to be more prepared than she was to wait for the students to come up with suggestions for Stage 2.

The area in which the students' interaction with the CA differed most from interaction with the teachers was in terms of talk in a literal frame, i.e. about their real lives.

Table 4. Initiation of episodes in literal frame

	On-task	Off-task	Total
Ss	17	10	
CA	4	2	33
Ss	4	0	
Gail	4	0	8
Ss	8	0	
Dennis	0	0	8

There were twice as many literal frame episodes with the CA as with the teachers combined. In addition, although we found no instances of either teacher initiating Off-task episodes, the CA did so twice. Strikingly, there was not a single case of a student initiating an Off-task episode with a teacher, whereas there were 10 in interaction with the CA.

Why did the students talk more about themselves with the CA? One reason could be that they felt more able to do so with her, as a younger person and as a less authoritative figure, in the classroom at least. There may also have been a practical reason: they had more time to do so because, as we have seen, she tended to push them on to complete Stage 1.

5.6 Questionnaire responses

At the end of the data collection period we distributed a post-course questionnaire (reproduced in the Appendix) in which, among other things, we asked the students to compare their interactions with the CA and with the teacher. In brief, our analysis shows that

- Most students found their teacher easier to understand than the CA.
- Most found it easier, or as easy, to speak to the CA.
- Most said that the differences they noticed between the teacher and the CA were in accent and speed of speaking. Two thought the CA spoke less accurately. On the other hand, a further two described her accent as 'ordinary' and 'natural'.

- In terms of language improvement, the students said that interaction with the CA benefited them as much as (or more than) that with the teacher in four areas: vocabulary, pronunciation, listening and fluency.

It was only in relation to grammar that they felt interaction with teachers was more helpful. This could in part reflect occasional comments from the CA herself about grammar, such as in this extract below. A Japanese student (Y) had noticed that the instructions on his role card (below) included what he thought was a grammatical error.

"A foreign student comes into your branch, saying that they opened an account some days ago. They have not received their cashpoint card...".

Y but second "they"

CA that's talking about students

Y but

CA I know + it says + uh + that's singular

Y hm

CA sorry I have to read it + "they have not received" + + it is + referring to this student that's going to visit us

N "they" + I think "they" + speak about more than one

CA no they're just talking about one student + don't ask me to explain some grammar to you *(laughs)* + I don't think I'm qualified

Ss *(laugh)*

We also asked the students to comment on the value of the CA outside Speaking classes. Their replies suggested that they talked to her about three main topic areas during the morning break: firstly, practical issues to do with life as a student in Edinburgh (e.g. finding accommodation); secondly, aspects of Scottish culture and particularly the differences between Scottish and English culture; and thirdly, current news stories. The main approving comment on their conversations with the CA was that they appreciated the chance to practise talking to someone who spoke 'informally' and 'naturally'.

In answer to our final question on the introduction of the CA, the responses were predominantly positive, with comments such as:

- *It helps us to get used to native speakers*
- *It practices listening to normal speed English*
- *You don't know exactly what kind of sentence will come next*
- *We gain confidence with someone not so formal as a teacher*

It is interesting that in terms of the three current hypotheses about language learning, the first three of those comments relate to the Input and Interaction Hypotheses, and only the last could be interpreted as relating to the Output Hypothesis – in other words, that the students saw the value of talking to the CA as a chance to listen to a NS or to engage in conversation, rather than to monitor their own speech.

However, there was one dissenting comment, from a Spanish student who had taken the EAP Programme although she did not intend to go on to university. She wrote '*Que es realmente el papel de la Course Assistant*?', ('*What is the role of the CA, really?*') It could be that it was partly because she was doing a pre-sessional course for different reasons that she saw less point than other students in getting used to the speech of a (pedagogically) unqualified assistant, particularly one with a Scottish accent that she might well not encounter again. It may also be significant that this student was the linguistically weakest member of the lower-level class – indeed, she was the only respondent who opted to answer the questionnaire in her L1. It would be understandable if greater difficulty with the CA's speech reduced the value she saw in interacting with her.

6. Classroom roles of the CA since 1996

In the light of the success of the innovation, we have extended the CA's role in the Scenario component in four ways. First, we have asked her to play the scenario with the class teacher; their performance is videotaped and replayed as a sample (not a model) of NS interaction, for students to get insights into British speech (e.g. the common softening of a refusal with *'actually'*).

Second, we have asked the CA to transcribe some videorecordings of NS performance. Transcripts have great potential for helping L2 learners to focus on form, but of course they take time to produce. The CA can help by doing a preliminary rough transcript and wordprocessing it, for the teacher to check and re-format into a student handout. This allows the teacher to focus on form in the post-task phase, without needing to spend out-of-class time on the transcribing.

Thirdly, we have now made changes to Stage 2 of the Scenario procedure. Instead of the original 'public' performance by two students, we now get all the students to play the scenario privately, in parallel pairs. When there is an odd number of students, the CA works as a partner with one student; when numbers are even, she helps to monitor the students' talk, to deal with requests for language help, and to listen in and comment on the pairs' recordings once they have finished.

Lastly, the most recent development has been to ask the CA to help with students' editing of their scenario performances (Lynch 2001). The student pairs transcribe (parts of) their Stage 2 performances; they then edit and correct their original transcript, and pass it to the teachers for reformulation. This has created a new role for the CA at Stages 7 and 8, as consultant to students as they discuss corrections and improvements to their transcript. This offers one way of highlighting the Output aspect of speaking practice – performance as a platform for correcting and refining their L2 speech – of which the students in the 1996 study seemed unaware.

7. Conclusion

We set out to investigate the possible impact on classroom interaction in the IALS context of taking up the previous students' suggestion of bringing in a 'normal' native speaker to complement our EAP teaching staff. Having now looked at the classroom data, we conclude that the CA did make an appreciable difference to both the distribution and the nature of NS-student interaction in class; the students' questionnaire responses show that she also increased the amount of speaking practice outside class. The findings from both sources point to the value of the additional native speaker to the participants in the EAP programme.

From the students' point of view, it may be that the most important difference the CA made was that, even within the constraints of classroom interaction, they were able to find – or take – more opportunities to talk about themselves when working with her than with the teachers, helping to achieve what van Lier (1996: 147) has called the 'contingency' of real-world conversation. Our study suggests that the introduction of the CA has been beneficial for the EAP programme – something that has been appreciated by both learners and teachers.

It goes without saying that a single-case study such as this may be untypical – in fact to our knowledge no other British university EAP course makes use of a CA with the combination of roles that we have described here. The CA featured in the study was followed in summer 2000 by another, also an undergraduate student of languages, and informal observation of her interactions with the EAP students over two summers suggests that she was no less successful than her predecessor in creating the opportunities for additional and different practice that the introduction of a CA was intended to foster. Whether the introduction of a CA would work as well in other cultural and pedagogic contexts – or indeed in a different type of course in the same institution – is a matter for conjecture, and perhaps of observation and analysis on the lines we have sketched here.

Acknowledgments

We would like to acknowledge the contributions of the Course Assistant, 'Gail' and 'Dennis' to this study. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the British Association of Lecturers in English for Academic Purposes conference in Glasgow in April 2001.

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Appendix

Research questionnaire:

Comparing conversation with a teacher and a non-teacher

Scenarios

Please think about your experience of talking to [CA's name] and [T's name] when your group was planning your role in the scenario. Then circle the answers that match your opinion:

1 a I found it easier to understand [CA]

1 b I found it easier to understand [T]

1 c I found no difference in understanding them

If you have circled **1a** or **1b**, please say why it was easier to understand her:

2 a I found it easier to speak English to [T]

2 b I found it easier to speak English to [CA]

2 c It was equally easy (or difficult) to speak English either of them

Again, if you circled **2a** or **2b**, say why you found it easier to speak to her:

3 The main difference(s) in the way [CA] and [T] spoke was/were that...

4 Did you improve the following in the Scenario? If so, with which speaker? Put a cross to show your opinion:

	more with CA	*more with T*	*equally from both*	*neither*

vocabulary

grammar

pronunciation

listening

general fluency

Outside the Speaking class

5 Did you speak to [CA] in the Study Room? YES NO

6 Did you speak to her in coffee breaks? YES NO

7 If you have answered YES... what sort of things did you talk about?

8 Did you find it more useful to talk to her (a) in class or (b) outside? Why?

General

9 Having a non-teacher (as well as a teacher) to talk to on the EAP Course is (a) useful (b) not useful because...

THE WAY TO A MAN'S HEART. JOURNEY AND WAR METAPHORS. METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF THE WESTERN ROMANCE MODEL IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH.

María Ángeles Navarrete López (IALS)

Abstract

In this paper I look at two examples of the Western model of romance in English and Spanish symbolic discourse: The English metaphor "The (best) way to a man's heart is through his stomach" (journey metaphor), and its Spanish counterpart "Al hombre se le conquista por el estómago" (war metaphor). Both central metaphors entail a number of perceptual, behavioural, and cognitive tasks that constitute the Western romance model. Why does English use a journey metaphor, in contrast to the Spanish war metaphor, to experience the same (normal) causal order (D'Andrade 1995), where events lead to perception, thoughts, feelings, wishes, intentions, and acts? I propose that both English and Spanish encode the conceptualisation of a given shared reality, i.e. male/female prototypical behaviour, by emphasising the establishment of projections onto metonymic principles that originate central metaphors, which vary from one language to another. To support this, I suggest the analysis of both metaphors in three stages, conceptual structure, application of the cognitive model, and the prototype scenario.

1. Background

Abstract concepts that are not clearly delineated in experience, such as time, love, and ideas, are metaphorically structured, understood, and often discussed in terms of other concepts that are more concrete in experience, such as money, travel, and foods (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Most recent studies on metaphorical cultural models have been carried out in the fields of cognitive linguistics and cognitive anthropology (D'Andrade 1995; Lakoff 1993). Cognitive linguistics investigates cultural knowledge, knowledge which is embedded in words, stories, and in artefacts, and which is learned from and shared with other humans (D'Andrade 1995:xiv). Virtually all research strategies in this field explore the relationship between language and thought by studying the conceptual knowledge and cognitive systems embedded in metaphorical cultural models (Holland and Quinn, 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; D'Andrade 1995). According to the definition that guides research in cognitive linguistics, culture is an idealised cognitive system, a system of knowledge, beliefs, and values that exists in the minds of members of society. It is the mental equipment that they use in orienting, transacting, discussing, defining, categorising, and interpreting actual behaviour in their society.

Cognitive linguistics focuses generally on the intellectual and rational aspects of culture, particularly through studies of language use. Among its many research topics, one is central: cultural models, often termed schemata, abstractions that represent our conceptual knowledge in memory through stereotypical concepts. Cultural models structure our knowledge of objects and situations, events and actions, and sequences of events and actions. Items in the lexicon, grammatical categories, and rules are associated in memory with cultural models. Linguistic forms and cognitive schemata "activate" each other: linguistic forms bring schemata to mind, and schemata are expressed in linguistic forms. The metaphorical concept "embarrassment is exposure" is an example. The embarrassment schema is structured in terms of the exposure schema. The systematicity of the metaphor is reflected in everyday speech formulas, which are sources of insight into and evidence for the nature of the metaphor. Fixed-form expressions for "embarrassment is exposure" are evident in these sentences: "You really exposed yourself," "He felt the weight of everyone's eyes," "I felt naked," and "I wanted to crawl under a rock."

EDINBURGH WORKING PAPERS IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS, number 11 (2001) ISSN 0959-2253

2. Cultural Journeys. Cultural Wars.

In most Western societies, both the concepts of journey and war are used metaphorically to discuss abstract concepts. Most of the time linguistic forms activate cognitive schemata, and conversely, cognitive schemata are evoked in the mind by linguistic forms. In the examples below, means of transport and routes are used to talk about relationships, as it is generally accepted that relationships can be discussed in terms of journeys:

English	Spanish
Car (long bumpy road)	coche (un camino largo y accidentado)
Train (off the track)	tren (fuera de la vía)
Boat (foundering)	barco (tocar fondo)
Plane (just taking off)	avión (despegando)

Similarly, it seems natural[1] to discuss politics in terms of war. The discourse about the 2001 election campaign in the UK was full of war metaphors:

English	Spanish
His overwhelming victory	Su aplastante victoria
Hague´s resignation opens the battle	La dimisión de Hague abre la batalla
It was a great victory for the Prime Minister	Fue una gran victoria para el primer ministro
His anti-European strategy	Su estrategia antieuropea

How is the expression "It was a great victory for the Prime Minister" to be understood as being about politics? Everyday symbolic discourse is full of metaphorical expressions that entail conceptual metaphors. Listeners readily recognise that speakers intend them to understand the entire scenario when one subpart of it is stated, because they share similar cognitive models. Such inferences about entire events based on the mention of a single part are evident in metonymic expressions such as "Wall Street is in a panic" (Gibbs 1992). For Haste (1993), metaphor is the bridge between individual thinker and social context, between existing ideas and new ideas, between where one person is and where the interlocutor wants to take the person. Metaphors and analogies are essential to explain new concepts, to resolve uncertainty or misunderstandings. Metaphors are used to communicate new ideas, to move between the familiar and the unfamiliar: 'metaphors underpin our taken-for-granted assumptions about the world. This accounts for how a listener can infer the information about something that is not formulated as "explicit declarative knowledge". ' (Haste 1993).

In the examples: "The best way to a man's heart is through his stomach" (JOURNEY METAPHOR), and its Spanish counterpart "Al hombre se le conquista por el estómago" (WAR METAPHOR), journey and war are used to talk and reason about romance. Following Lakoff (1993), questions arise concerning: is there any general principle which governs the way linguistic expressions that encapsulate journey and war are used? Is there any general principle that governs how it is possible to reason about romance using the knowledge used to reason about journeys and wars? The answer to these questions seems to be affirmative. This principle, though, is not part of English or Spanish, but of the conceptual system that underlies both languages: it is a principle which allows people to understand the domain of love in terms of journeys[2] and wars.

Certain conceptual metaphors, such as the LOVE METAPHOR[3] permeate gender. Conceptions of sex differences and gender roles are couched in metaphors that explain and justify, and the metaphors derived from gender and sexuality invade vast areas of life (Haste 1993). They activate cognitive schemata that give rise to gender stereotyped linguistic expressions. As a result, language contains many fossilised expressions, which are only activated as ready-made formulas or rituals. In this sense, language performs the double task of encoding cultural models and providing a continuum based on systematic correlations that, like human thought, are metaphorical in nature. Both the JOURNEY and the WAR central metaphors entail the symbolic conceptualisation of a number of perceptual, behavioural, and cognitive tasks through the seduction schema, in which certain prototypical behaviour of women is the focus of interest. Here these major cognitive representations, which occur in the romance model, and correspond to salient schemas of ordinary Western individuals, are the focus of attention. This concerns major central events that are part of a more complex Western model of the Mind (D'Andrade 1995). In practice, English and Spanish experience the reality of seduction in two different ways. English understands one domain of experience, the seduction schema, in terms of a very different domain of experience, journeys. Spanish understands the seduction schema in terms of the domain of experience of war.

The use of metaphor accounts for the question of why we have the domains we have. The metaphor involves understanding one domain of experience - romance, seduction, love etc. - in terms of a very different domain of experience - journeys and wars. More technically, the LOVE-AS-A-JOURNEY METAPHOR and the LOVE-AS-WAR METAPHOR can be understood as a mapping (in the mathematical sense) from a source domain, journeys and wars respectively, onto a target domain (in this case the seduction schema). The mapping is tightly structured. There are correspondences, according to which entities in the domain of seduction (e.g., the lovers, the relationship, etc.) correspond systematically to entities in the domain of a journey (the travellers, the vehicle, the destination etc.), and war (the winners, the losers, the victory etc).

2. The Romance Model in Western culture.

The Western cultural model of romance consists of an interrelated set of elements which fit together to represent the conceptions of femininity and masculinity. Typically one uses a model to reason with, or calculate from, by mentally manipulating the parts of the model in order to solve some problem. Every schema serves as a simple model in the sense that it is a representation of some object or event. However, many models are not schemas themselves, although they are composed of schemas[4]. Models are not schemas when the collection of elements is too large and complex to hold in short-term memory[5].

The cultural model of romance is not a precisely articulated concept but rather it serves as a catchall phrase for many different kinds of cultural knowledge (Shore 1996:45). As a folk model, the cultural model of romance generally refers to gender stereotypes. The model is not just constituted by a random collection of groundless beliefs about women and men. Rather, it represents cultural constructions of femininity and masculinity, sometimes based tenuously on physical differences that serve as underpinnings for the social relations between women and men as a group and as individuals (Lips 1988: 25). The romance model greatly affects people's understanding of the world and of human behaviour as framed in the language of opposites (male/female). It is both overtly and unconsciously taught and is rooted in knowledge learned from others as well as from accumulated personal experience. It refers to the unconscious set of assumptions and understandings shared by members of a society.

Because cultural models are abstractions that represent conceptual knowledge, in this case the knowledge about romantic relationships, they constitute cognitive structures in memory that represent stereotypical concepts[6]. Stereotyping may lead to binary differentiation: male versus female. Everyone is to fit into either one category or the other. As a result, gender stereotypes are defined through opposition. Another implication of gender stereotyping is that prototypes are understood as the two poles of a continuum: detaching from the prototype leads to deviations. In this sense, a man who

displays behaviour different from the stereotyped man is viewed as a less masculine man. The same happens with a woman who displays a number of values traditionally considered male. Stereotypes and the results of stereotyping may lead to limit situations like the one described below:

> The crew labelled two adjacent telephone booths with the signs Men and Women, placed a man in the "men's booth" and waited to see what could happen as a male passer-by came along wanting to make a phone call. Remarkably, men ignored the obviously empty "women's" phone booth and paced around impatiently watching for their turn to use the one labelled Men.
>
> (Lips 1988:3).

The romance model is not formulated as explicit declarative knowledge, but is implicitly embodied in the natural lexicon, based on schemas embedded in words but not formulated in explicit propositions, as in the metaphorical expressions:

English	Spanish
The best way to a man's heart is through his stomach	Al hombre se le conquista por el estómago

The model establishes a series of presuppositions related to the prototype of a woman:

1. That women would like to get to a man's heart.
2. That in order to get an emotional response from a man some kind of subterfuge will need to be used.
3. That women can cook in order to lure a man into a relationship.

Gender stereotypes do not exist in a vacuum. They are rooted in historical and cultural beliefs. Stereotyping minimises the intellectual effort of dealing with new information about people. It is extremely convenient to make assumptions simply on the basis of whether a person is male or female. The labelling of an individual as female or male has a powerful impact on other's perceptions of and reactions to individuals. Stereotypically, one tends to expect different behaviours, personal qualities, and physical appearances from women and men. When people are categorised by sex (their biological femaleness or maleness), the trend is to assume that they are also categorised by gender (the set of cultural expectations for femininity and masculinity), although on many dimensions there is no necessary relationship between biological sex and cultural expectations for women and men.

3. Metaphor Analysis.

3.1 The LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor.

1. Conceptual structure.

This metaphor involves understanding one domain of experience, the seduction schema, in terms of a very different domain of experience, journeys. This metaphor can be understood as a mapping (in the mathematical sense) from a source domain (in this case journeys) to a target domain (in this case the seduction schema). The mapping LOVE-AS-A-JOURNEY is tightly structured. There are ontological correspondences, according to which entities in the domain of love (e.g., the lovers, the romance, and the seduction) correspond systematically to entities in the domain of a journey (the traveller, the vehicle, and the destination). Epistemic correspondences are also established, permitting speakers to reason about love using the knowledge they use to reason about journeys.

II. Metaphor analysis.

A) General principles.

The model establishes a general principle that generates a central metaphor, which is translated into use 1 of the metaphor, i.e., a man's stomach is a road to a man's heart. Other principles different from the general principle can be established, and also generate central metaphors, use 2, i.e. a man's heart is a man. Other minor principles established within the model give rise to minor metaphors, which are ignored in this study.

B) Correspondences.

Ontological correspondences between entities.

The ontological correspondences that constitute the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor map the ontology of travel onto the ontology of love. In doing so, they map the scenario about travel onto a corresponding love scenario in which the corresponding alternatives for action are seen (see below).

Epistemic correspondences.

Using the knowledge speakers have of the source and target domains certain correspondences are established. A woman is a TRAVELLER who wants to reach a DESTINATION (a man's heart). The ROAD to get to the destination is through cooking.

III. The prototype scenario.

The prototype scenario in the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor consists of a number of prototypical cases where the romance model is encapsulated in five scenes:

Scene 1: intention to approach.

X intends to move towards Y.

English: He decided to make a move on Teresa.

Spanish: Decidió entrarle a Teresa.

Scene 2: road or way.

The way X has to get to Y is going along a road.

English: Their relationship was to be a long pleasant road.

Spanish: Su relación iba a ser un camino de rosas.

Scene 3: departure.

X departs to the road that will take X to Y.

English: I want to start this journey by your side.

Spanish: Quiero empezar este viaje a tu lado.

Scene 4: journey.

X makes her way to Y.

English: He was on the road to her heart.

Spanish: Estaba de camino a su corazón.

Scene 5: arrival.

X gets to the end of the journey/destination (Y).

English: Look how far we've come, baby.

Spanish: Mira qué lejos hemos llegado, cariño.

The prototypical cases of the normal prototype scenario consist of those metaphors that project the source domains onto a part of the prototype scenario. In contrast, the cases that now follow can be considered as non-prototypical cases originating from deviations from the prototype which, in the last instance, exemplify the abnormal course of action in the prototype scenario:

Scene 1: lack of intention to approach.

X does not intend to make a movement towards Y.

English: I don't want to start a non-return journey.

Spanish: No quiero empezar un viaje sin retorno.

Scene 2: absence of road or way.

X lacks any road to get to Y.

English: He wouldn't search for the way to her heart.

Spanish: El ya no buscaría el camino a su corazón.

Scene 3: absence of departure.

X never departs to Y.

English: I don't want to take the big step with him.

Spanish: No me atrevo a dar el gran paso con él.

Scene 4: journey is never fulfilled.

X does not make the way to Y.

English: She didn't want to go any further with the affair.

Spanish: No quería ir más lejos con esa aventura.

Scene 5: there is no arrival.

X does not get to the end of the journey (Y).

English: The affair never got any further.

Spanish: La aventura no fue más lejos.

3.2 The LOVE IS WAR metaphor.

I. Conceptual structure.

Again this metaphor involves understanding one domain of experience, the seduction schema, in terms of a very different domain of experience, this time that of war. The metaphor can again be understood as a mapping from a source domain (in this case war) to a target domain (in this case the seduction schema). The mapping LOVE-AS-WAR is tightly structured. There are ontological correspondences, according to which entities in the domain of love (e.g., the lovers, and the romance) correspond systematically to entities in the domain of a WAR (strategy, conquest, and victory). Such correspondences permit people to reason about love using the knowledge used to reason about war.

II. Application of the metaphor.

A) General principles.

The model establishes a general principle that generates a central metaphor, which is translated into use 1 of the metaphor, i.e., to conquer a man's stomach is to conquer a man. Other principles different from the general principle can be established, they also generate central metaphors; use 2, i.e. a man's stomach is a man. Again minor principles and minor metaphors will be ignored.

B) Correspondences:

Ontological correspondences between entities.

The ontological correspondences that constitute the LOVE IS WAR metaphor map the ontology of travel onto the ontology of war. In doing so, they map the scenario about war onto a corresponding love scenario in which the corresponding alternatives for action are seen (see below).

Epistemic correspondences.

Using the knowledge speakers have of the source and target domains certain correspondences are established. A woman is a WARRIOR who wants to conquer a TARGET (a man's heart): making sacrifices, setting targets and strategies are involved in this course of action.

III. The prototype scenario.

The prototype scenario in the LOVE IS WAR metaphor consists of a number of prototypical cases where the romance models is encapsulated in five scenes:

Scene 1: intention to attack, setting targets.

X intends to attack Y.

English: He was determined to fight for her love.

Spanish: Estaba dispuesto a luchar por su amor.

Scene 2: strategy.

X displays the machinery to defeat Y.

English: He used all his weapons to win her interest.

Spanish: El usaba todas sus armas para ganarse el interés de ella.

Scene 3: treaty.

X agrees a treaty .

English: He agreed to give up fighting for her love.

Spanish: Consintió en dejar de luchar por su amor.

Scene 4: victory.

X gets the victory.

English: He won her affections.

Spanish: Se ganó su cariño.

Scene 5: defeat.

X loses the battle

English: She defeated him with her smile.

Spanish: Lo derrotó con su sonrisa.

The prototypical cases of the normal prototype scenario consist of those metaphors that map the source domains onto a part of the prototype scenario. In contrast, the cases that now follow can be considered as non prototypical cases originating from deviancies from the prototype which, in the last instance, exemplify the abnormal course of action in the prototype scenario:

Scene 1: lack of intention to conquer.

X does not intend to attack Y.

English: I don't want to conquer his heart.

Spanish: No quiero conquistar su corazón.

Scene 2: counter-strategy.

X does not display any machinery to defeat Y.

English: She disarmed him with her voice.

Spanish: Ella lo dejó desarmado con su voz.

4. Conclusions

The metaphorical expressions: "The best way to a man's heart is through his stomach" and its Spanish counterpart "Al hombre se le conquista por el estómago" constitute two examples of how the romance model is embodied in the natural lexicon. The LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor maps the ontology of journey onto the ontology of love. The ontological correspondences that constitute the LOVE IS WAR metaphor map the ontology of war onto the ontology of love. The Western cultural model of romance consists of an interrelated set of elements which fit together to represent conceptions of femininity and masculinity. Through the use of metaphor one domain of experience, romance, seduction, love etc. is understood in terms of very different domains of experience, journeys and wars. The model is based on a general principle that appears embedded in words. This principle is not part of English or Spanish, but of the conceptual system that underlies both languages.

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Notes:

[1] Most often cultural models are connected to the emotional responses to particular experiences so that people regard their assumptions about the world and the things in it as "natural." If an emotion evokes a response of disgust or frustration, for example, a person can deliberately take action to change the model.

[2] As Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff (1993) point out, the conceptualisation of the journey is a reiterative one in English. Time as a concept is experienced in contradictory ways. Sometimes as a moving object:

English	Spanish
time flies	el tiempo vuela

But at other times, the concept appears as a non-mobile point or as something that can be approached:

English	Spanish
We're approaching the third Millennium	Nos acercamos al tercer milenio

[3] In the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, there is a set of correspondences that originate the LOVE IS A JOURNEY mapping:

- The lovers are travellers.
- The love relationship corresponds to the vehicle.
- The lovers' common goals correspond to their common destinations on the journey.
- Difficulties in the relationship correspond to impediments to travel.

[4] For example, seeing a grocery store clerk hand a bag of apples to a shopper and accept money, "the commercial transaction schema" would serve as a probable model for what has been seen.

[5] By definition, a schema is a "bounded, distinct, and unitary representation", which must fit into short-term memory. (D'Andrade 1995)

[6] For instance, the term "bachelor" can be defined as unmarried male. Tarzan or the Pope are not representative of the stereotype of bachelor.

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